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ANALYSE DE LA RELATION ENTRE CARIE DENTAIRE ET ENVIRONNEMENT À PARTIR DE DEUX ÉCHANTILLONS DE POPULATIONS MÉDIÉVALES FRANÇAISES

ANNE-MARIE GRIMOUD¹, SOPHIE ECHE², SIMON LUCAS³,
ANDRE SEVIN⁴, PATRICE GEORGES⁵, OLIVIER PASSARRIUS⁶

The aim of our study was to establish the carious lesions frequency taking into account access to food resources in two rural medieval populations in south west France, and on this basis display the role of anthropology in carious frequency surveys. We selected 114 individuals, with paired maxillaries, from two different geographical contexts, 56 from the Marsan's population in Gascogne and 58 from Vilarnau in Roussillon. We examined a total of 2498 teeth and defined the carious frequency in regard to (i) dental morphotype, molars and premolars were teeth most often affected and incisors and canines the less, and (ii) localization on teeth, in this case occlusal and proximal tooth surfaces were most often affected by carious lesions. In both cases caries percentage was higher in Marsan's individuals used to eat cooked cereal daily than those of Vilarnau living on the Mediterranean coast with the possibility to eat more vegetables and fruits. The difference in regional distribution of caries frequency, highlighted by our study, is still found today over survey confined to the study of prevalence, while the socioeconomic environment plays an important role in the development of this disease.

Key words: environment, Middle Age, carious frequency, south west France.

¹ Service d'Odontologie, Hôtel-Dieu Saint Jacques, 2 rue Viguerie, TSA 80035, 31059 Toulouse cedex 9 France, Tel. : +33670576304 (grimoud.am@chu-toulouse.fr)

² Service d'Odontologie, Hôtel-Dieu Saint Jacques, 2 rue Viguerie, TSA 80035, 31059 Toulouse cedex 9 France (so.e@hotmail.fr)

³ Service d'Odontologie, Hôtel-Dieu Saint Jacques, 2 rue Viguerie, TSA 80035, 31059 Toulouse cedex 9 France (docteur.simonlucas@hotmail.com)

⁴ Laboratoire d'Anthropologie et d'Imagerie de synthèse UMR 5288, 37 allées Jules Guesde, 31073 Toulouse cedex 3, France (sevin@cict.fr)

⁵ Laboratoire PACEA CNRS UMR 5199, Avenue des Facultés, 33405 Talence cedex, France (patrice.georges@inrap.fr)

⁶ Pôle d'archéologie départemental, Conseil général des Pyrénées orientales, 66000 Perpignan, France (Olivier.PASSARRIUS@cg66.fr)

INTRODUCTION

L'étude du mode de vie et des habitudes alimentaires des populations anciennes et actuelles, peut-être réalisée à travers l'analyse de différentes caractéristiques dentaires et osseuses, et en particuliers en établissant l'incidence du processus carieux, objet de nombreux travaux en anthropobiologie à différentes époques et régions du monde (Cucina *et al.* 2011: 560; Lucas *et al.* 2010: 359; Grimoud *et al.* 2011a; Garcin *et al.* 2010: 412; Polet *et al.* 2001; Russeva *et al.* 2010: 17; Varenne *et al.* 2006: 61; Vodanovic *et al.* 2005: 669).

En effet, la définition de l'incidence du processus carieux permet de comparer différentes populations non seulement au cours du temps mais aussi et surtout en fonction du contexte géographique et du niveau socio-économique, qui déterminent conjointement l'accès aux ressources alimentaires (Caseltiz 1998: 203; Hardwick *et al.* 1960: 9; Singh *et al.* 2011: 157; Prado *et al.* 2009: 19; Poulain *et al.* 2008).

Ainsi, l'impact de la composition en hydrates de carbone des aliments ingérés sur le développement du processus carieux permet d'utiliser les dents, en leur qualité de témoin de l'alimentation de populations du passé et actuelles (Lingström *et al.* 2000: 366). L'intérêt de ce relevé de l'état dentaire dans l'étude de l'état sanitaire tient, d'une part aux effets de la composition des aliments sur la déminéralisation de l'émail des dents et d'autre part à la résistance des tissus dentaires à des conditions taphonomiques défavorables à la conservation des autres tissus composant les restes ostéologiques ensevelis (Caseltiz 1998: 203; Hillson 2001: 249).

De ce fait l'étude comparative d'échantillons de populations, socialement homogènes, mais ayant vécu dans des environnements géographiques différents, présente l'intérêt de pouvoir rattacher l'incidence du processus carieux aux ressources vivrières disponibles et à l'alimentation qui en dépend directement (Ruas 2005: 400; Herrscher 2003: 149; Polet *et al.* 2001).

En outre, aux époques où les thérapeutiques dentaires, à l'exception de l'avulsion, étaient quasiment inexistantes et la pratique de l'hygiène très limitée, le recueil des caractéristiques et de l'état sanitaire bucco-dentaire peut témoigner plus fidèlement de la consistance et de la composition des aliments, pour des populations socialement homogènes, qu'au cours des périodes plus récentes où les différences sociales influencent fortement la qualité de la santé dentaire (Herrscher, 2003: 149; Rovillé-Sausse 2008: 79; Varenne *et al.* 2006: 61).

Les paramètres, composition et consistance, ayant un impact sur l'initiation du processus carieux, la consistance ferme et fibreuse des aliments, limitant et prévenant la formation de biofilm à la surface des dents, ne peut-être dissociée de leur composition (Jenkins *et al.* 1989: 159; Lynch 2004: 310; Moynihan *et al.* 1999: 664).

Dans ce contexte, nous posons l'hypothèse de l'impact de l'accès aux ressources alimentaires sur l'incidence du processus carieux à partir de deux populations médiévales vivant dans deux régions voisines du sud-ouest de la France. L'intérêt de prendre en compte le versant anthropologique dans l'étude de la fréquence carieuse sera analysé en regard des enquêtes menées dans ce domaine (Camus 1910: 136; DRESS, 2003).

MATERIELS ET METHODES

2 – 1 – Principales caractéristiques de la population

Nous avons étudié deux échantillons médiévaux de populations rurales du sud-ouest de la France, qui vivaient dans des conditions environnementales différentes; ils représentent :

- (i) pour le premier, la Série ostéologique de Marsan, population du Gers en Gascogne, vivant à l'intérieur des terres sous un climat continental aux hivers froids et aux étés très chauds et secs et où les céréales, principale ressource vivrière, étaient la base de l'alimentation sous forme de bouillies;
- (ii) pour le second, la série ostéologique de Vilarnau, en Roussillon population côtière méditerranéenne vivant sous un climat aux hivers doux et aux étés chauds et disposant de produits de la pêche et de cultures vivrières plus abondantes et diversifiées (Passarrius 2008); dans ce cas, les principales ressources étaient la vigne, les arbres fruitiers et de nombreux légumes tout au long de l'année.

Nous présentons les principales caractéristiques environnementales des deux populations étudiées dans le tableau 1 et nous les localisons géographiquement dans la Figure 1. Ainsi que nous l'avons publié antérieurement (Grimoud *et al.* 2011b), la détermination de l'âge au moment du décès a été effectuée selon les critères d'Owings-Webb *et al.* (Owings-Webb *et al.* 1985: 457), à partir du degré de fusion de l'extrémité médiale de la clavicule ou de la crête iliaque et aussi à partir du degré de synostose des sutures crâniennes, pour distinguer, d'une part les adultes jeunes (20–30 ans) et d'autre part les matures de plus de 30 ans; sachant la grande difficulté à estimer l'âge au décès des adultes, au-delà de 30 ans, en regard de la faible variation des paramètres d'estimation (Herrscher 2003: 149 ; Whittaker *et al.* 1996: 55).

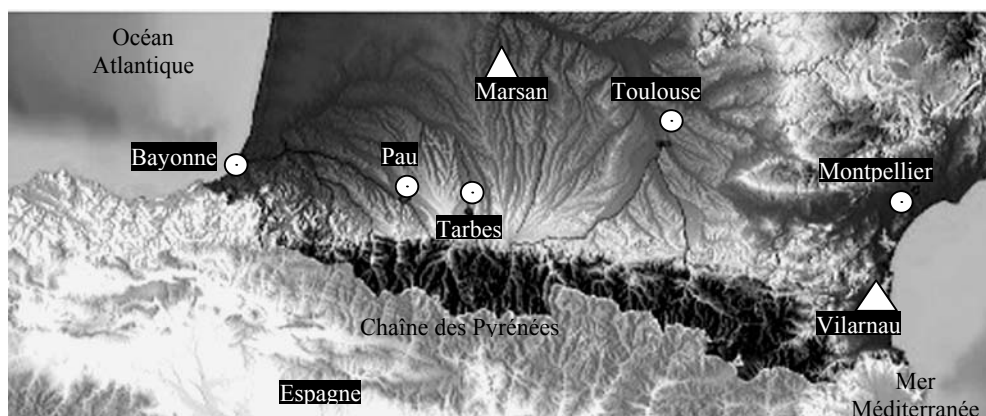


Fig. 1 – Localisation géographique des sites médiévaux de Marsan et de Vilarnau.

La détermination du sexe a été réalisée selon la méthode scopique de Bruzek (Bruzek 2002: 157) à partir de l'os coxal selon 5 caractères morphologiques appartenant aux segments sacro-iliaque et ischio-pubien pour une diagnose correcte dans 95% des cas.

Tableau 1

Principales caractéristiques environnementales des séries ostéologiques de Marsan et de Vilarnau

	Vilarnau	Marsan
Localisation	En Roussillon à l'est de Perpignan, entre Château-Roussillon et Canet-en-Roussillon	En Gascogne dans le Gers, entre Gimont et Auch.
Altitude	33 mètres environ	210 mètres environ.
Circonstances de découverte	Prospection terrestre	Travaux d'aménagement de la route nationale 124, ancienne voie royale de Toulouse à Bayonne
Nature des vestiges	Village disparu au XVe siècle, Fouille : ancienne église, cimetière, vestige habitat, aire d'ensilage,	Village existant, Fouille : ancien cimetière paroissial, vestige habitat, silos, fosses,
Période estimée	Fin du IX ^e et première moitié du XV ^e siècle	X ^e - XIII ^e siècle
Nombre de sépultures	900	200
Climat	Méditerranéen Hiver doux Été chaud et sec	Continental Hiver sec et froid Été très chaud et sec
Principales cultures des environs	Vignes, arbres fruitiers, légumes	Céréales, polyculture

Les individus sélectionnés sont répartis en adultes jeunes âgés de 18–20 ans et en adultes matures âgés de >30 ans.

2 – 2 – Sélections des échantillons

En nous référant à la classification de Vodanovic et al. (Vodanovic et al. 2005: 669) pour l'état de conservation des maxillaires nous avons sélectionné des échantillons appartenant au niveau 1, qui correspond à la présence d'au moins 50% de la partie osseuse du maxillaire et de la mandibule.

Selon ces critères, les échantillons retenus pour analyse se composent de 56 maxillaires et mandibules appariés en ce qui concerne la série ostéologique de Marsan et de 58 maxillaires appariés pour celle de Vilarnau.

2 – 3 – Méthodologie

Les différents paramètres étudiés répondaient aux définitions suivantes:

- (i) les lésions carieuses sont considérées correspondre à la formation de cavités au niveau de l'émail et/ou de la dentine ; ont été exclues par diagnostic différentiel les dyschromies et les hypoplasies de l'émail.

Les dents ont été examinées à l'œil nu sous un éclairage adapté et les caries ont été répertoriées en fonction de leur localisation coronaire, sur les faces occlusale, proximale ou cervicale, radiculaire et pulpaire ;

- (ii) la perte antemortem est définie par l'absence d'une dent et d'alvéole vide et par la présence de tissu osseux ayant subi un remodelage qui en diminue le volume;
- (iii) la perte postmortem correspond à la présence d'une alvéole vide et à l'absence de la dent correspondante;
- (iv) l'absence d'une dent est notée « indéterminée » lorsque les critères de perte ante ou postmortem ne peuvent être appliqués.

2 – 4 – Analyse statistique

L'analyse statistique a mis en œuvre des tests de corrélation simple : test de χ^2 en utilisant le logiciel SPAD du centre interuniversitaire de calculs de l'Université de Toulouse.

RÉSULTATS

Nous présentons les résultats concernant la fréquence carieuse dans deux échantillons médiévaux. Nous avons analysé les données recueillies lors de l'examen des dents présentes au niveau de l'échantillon, de 56 maxillaires appariés, de la série ostéologique de Marsan et de celui de 58 maxillaires appariés de la série ostéologique de Vilarnau. Considérant le nombre réduit de sujets, nous n'avons pas fractionné nos résultats en fonction de la répartition maxillaire vs mandibulaire et des paramètres âge et sexe, afin de limiter la dispersion des données et de rendre leur analyse statistique comparative plus pertinente.

Considérant le nombre et les pourcentages de dents présentes ou absentes, la répartition était la suivante:

- (i) pour un total de 3648 théoriquement attendues, 2498 dents (68,98%) étaient présentes dans les deux échantillons, soit 1376 (74,4%) dans l'échantillon de Vilarnau et 1139 (63,56%) dans celui de Marsan ;
- (ii) le pourcentage de dents perdues antemortem ou postmortem était respectivement de 5,7% et 14,1% pour l'échantillon de Marsan et de 8,0% et 16,2% pour celui de Vilarnau.

Pour les deux échantillons nous constatons que :

- (i) les dents le plus souvent perdues antemortem sont les molaires;
- (ii) les dents le plus souvent perdues postmortem sont les incisives;
- (iii) le pourcentage de dents étudiées est de 10% plus élevé dans l'échantillon de Vilarnau, en raison du meilleur état de conservation de cette série ostéologique, comparé à celui de Marsan, où le nombre de dents indéterminées, quant à leur présence ou absence, est plus élevé.

Pour les dents examinées, les résultats correspondent au relevé des caries réparties en fonction de leur localisation coronaire, radiculaire, pulpaire et des

quatre morphotypes dentaires incisive, canine, prémolaire, molaire. Le degré de sévérité du processus carieux peut être représenté par l'atteinte pulpaire, en raison du risque infectieux et du devenir de la dent qui y sont associés.

Si nous considérons pour les deux échantillons de Marsan et de Vilarnau:

- (i) le niveau d'atteinte de la dent, la localisation carieuse la plus fréquente se situe au niveau des faces occlusales et proximales et de la cavité pulpaire; les atteintes les moins fréquentes se situant au niveau cervical, radiculaire (Fig. 2);
- (ii) le morphotype dentaire, les dents le plus souvent atteintes de caries sont les molaires et les prémolaires, les dents les moins cariées étant les canines et les incisives (Fig. 3);
- (iii) la comparaison, les courbes figurant le pourcentage de carie présentent une évolution superposable en fonction, d'une part de la localisation des lésions au niveau coronaire (occlusal, proximal, cervical), pulpaire ou radiculaire (Fig. 2), et d'autre part de l'atteinte du morphotype dentaire (Fig. 3);
- (iv) le pourcentage de dents cariées est plus élevé au niveau des maxillaires de la série ostéologique de Marsan, que l'on considère, les 4 morphotypes dentaires, incisives, canines, prémolaires et molaires, ou la localisation sur la dent i.e. occlusale, proximale, cervicale, radiculaire et pulpaire;
- (v) L'échantillon de Vilarnau se distingue de celui de Marsan par des caries de type occlusal, alors que ce dernier est caractérisé par des caries de type cervical et pulpaire. L'échantillon de Marsan présente en outre une atteinte tissulaire plus sévère quant au risque infectieux qui en dépend.

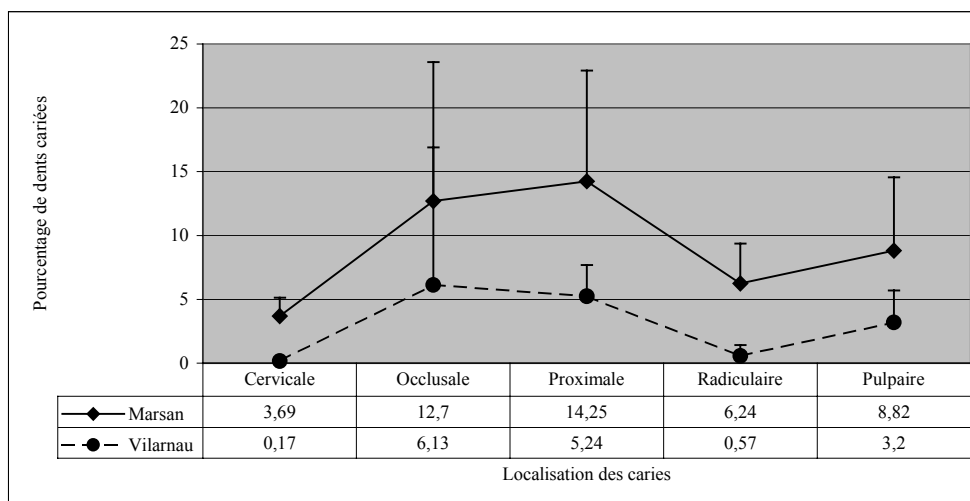


Fig. 2 – Répartition des caries dentaires dans les échantillons de Marsan et de Vilarnau selon leur localisation coronaire, radiculaire et pulpaire (moyenne et écart-type).

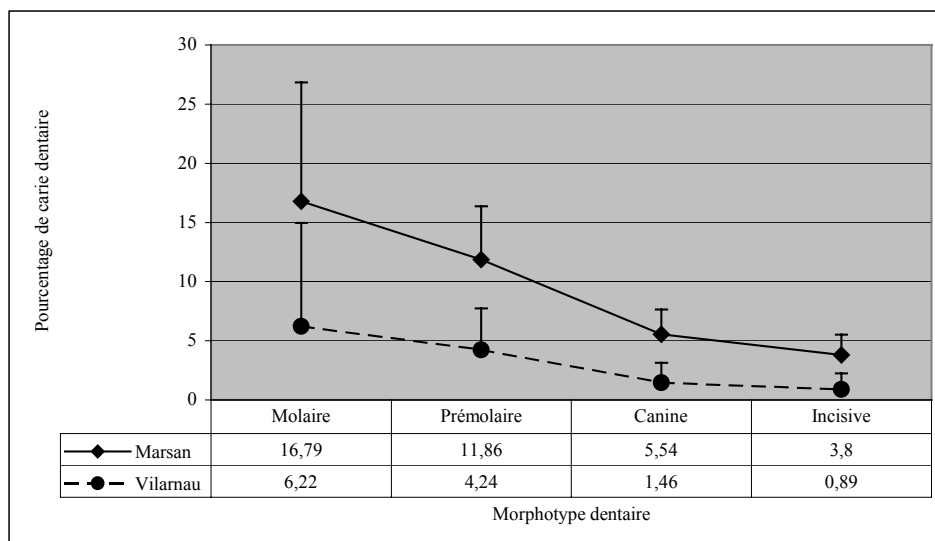


Fig. 3 – Répartition des caries dentaires dans les échantillons de Marsan et de Vilarnau selon les quatre morphotypes dentaires (moyenne et écart-type).

L'analyse statistique, en comparant par le test de χ^2 les pourcentages de caries à Marsan et à Vilarnau :

- (i) ne met pas en évidence de différences significatives en fonction: d'une part de chaque morphotype dentaire (Fig. 3); et d'autre part de chaque localisation (Fig. 2);
- (ii) est significatif si l'on considère globalement les pourcentages de caries en fonction de la localisation ($\chi^2 = 25,975$, ddl de 12, $P < 0,05$).

En considérant les écarts par rapport à la moyenne, ils sont élevés pour:

- (i) les caries siégeant au niveau des molaires parce qu'il s'agit d'une moyenne des différents types de caries; or les molaires sont le morphotype dentaire présentant le plus grand nombre de caries occlusales et un plus faible nombre des autres types de caries;
- (ii) les caries occlusales et proximales qui présentent une répartition différente selon les morphotypes dentaires.

Même si les écarts restent faibles, la population de Marsan est caractérisée par des caries plus souvent proximales que dans celle de Vilarnau, il serait maintenant intéressant d'analyser ces différences en regard du niveau d'usure des dents, ceci sera l'objet de notre prochaine analyse.

DISCUSSION

L'étude de la fréquence carieuse dans nos deux échantillons ruraux médiévaux du sud-ouest en France, permet d'ouvrir une discussion sur l'impact de

la différence d'environnement climatique, géographique et socio-économique au niveau de l'état sanitaire bucco-dentaire, non seulement à l'époque médiévale, mais aussi au cours du temps, en prenant en compte l'influence de la teneur en hydrates de carbone des aliments.

Au cours de la période médiévale, les populations disposant essentiellement des ressources de proximité pour s'alimenter, il est plus facile que de nos jours, de déterminer l'impact des ressources alimentaires, à disposition des individus, sur l'état sanitaire dentaire.

Ainsi, nous savons que les conditions de vie étaient plus clémentes sous le climat méditerranéen, pour la population de Vilarnau, qu'en Gascogne pour la population de Marsan. En effet, les hivers doux du pourtour méditerranéen étaient plus favorables à la diversification des cultures et permettaient de disposer, sur une plus longue période, de ressources alimentaires variées. En outre la proximité des étangs, facile d'accès pour la pêche, représentait une source non négligeable pour l'alimentation des populations. Les travaux de Garcin (Garcin *et al.* 2010: 412) et l'ouvrage de Polet (Polet *et al.* 2001) mettent aussi en évidence un plus faible pourcentage de caries dentaires dans les populations vivant sur les rivages de la mer. Au contraire, sous le climat continental de Marsan, les hivers froids raréfiaient à cette époque la variété et la quantité des ressources vivrières et les étés très chauds obligeaient les troupeaux à une longue transhumance, en l'absence d'une végétation suffisante pour les nourrir. Ainsi, les céréales, principale ressource alimentaire, consommées sous forme de bouillies représentaient un potentiel plus cariogène, tant par leur composition que par leur consistance; ces propriétés favorisant la stagnation de la nourriture entre les dents et à leur base. Bien que d'autres aliments aient été consommés à Marsan, la richesse de l'alimentation de base en hydrates de carbone pouvait entraîner le développement de caries cervicales et proximales plus fréquemment qu'à Vilarnau, où l'alimentation était plus diversifiée et riche en fruits et légumes.

Si nous nous référons à des travaux antérieurs, Meinl (Meinl *et al.* 2010: 108) établissent dans un groupe de population de Vienne un pourcentage global de caries occlusales proche de celui établi pour la population de Marsan et un pourcentage de caries radiculaire plus élevé; par ailleurs Vodanovic (Vodanovic *et al.* 2005: 669) définissent un pourcentage de caries proximales légèrement supérieur à celui des occlusales comme dans la population de Marsan. Si nous considérons le pourcentage de caries en tenant compte du morphotype dentaire, les travaux de Meinl (Meinl *et al.* 2005: 108), Vodanovic (Vodanovic *et al.* 2005: 669) et Djuric-Srejic (Djuric-Srejic 2001: 113), les dents les moins cariées sont les incisives et les canines suivies des prémolaires et des molaires qui sont invariablement les plus atteintes; les pourcentages établis dans ces études, pour des populations vivant dans les terres, sont similaires à ceux que nous présentons pour la population de Marsan. Nous retrouvons ainsi la différence établie par Garcin (Garcin *et al.* 2010: 412), entre les populations vivant dans les terres et sur les côtes maritimes, et aussi rapportée par Polet (Polet *et al.* 2001) en raison non seulement de leur très faible

teneur en hydrats de carbone mais aussi à la présence du fluor qui vient renforcer la structure minérale de l'émail dentaire.

La variabilité interrégionale de la prévalence carieuse reste vraie au cours du temps, et les enquêtes épidémiologiques sont actuellement toujours menées selon les régions en France (DRESS, 2003) et sur la plupart des continents (Varenne *et al.* 2006: 61; Singh *et al.* 2011: 157). Ainsi Camus (Camus 1910: 136) rapporte une étude de Magitot, réalisée entre 1831 et 1849, sur le mauvais état dentaire chez 3.295.202 conscrits, dont 25.918 avaient été exemptés pour mauvaise dentition. La carte de France, dressée alors, d'après les résultats des conseils de révision, l'a été en fonction des départements et faisait apparaître une variabilité importante, de la fréquence du mauvais état dentaire, parmi les départements français, qui furent classés selon 3 niveaux de prévalence faible, moyen et haut. Les départements situés à l'ouest du pourtour méditerranéen appartenaient à la catégorie la moins affectée par le mauvais état bucco-dentaire, de même que le Gers, mais avec un pourcentage plus élevé pour ce dernier. Cependant, l'origine du processus carieux n'étant pas à l'époque de l'enquête bien identifiée, les anthropologues n'établissaient pas de liens entre les ressources alimentaires accessibles selon les conditions socio-économiques et le mauvais état dentaire. Nous noterons que Magitot n'a pas relevé le pourcentage de caries mais le nombre de sujets exemptés du service militaire pour mauvaise dentition, et donc les plus atteints.

De nos jours, bien que l'origine des individus soit moins homogène dans les régions, qu'au Moyen Âge et au XIX^e siècle, les enquêtes sur la prévalence carieuse montrent des différences régionales ; ainsi les enfants des régions de la façade atlantique et du Centre de la France présentent la plus faible prévalence de carie, le Nord les départements d'outre mer de France la plus élevée (DRESS, 2003). Par ailleurs, cette enquête établissait pour chaque région française le nombre de Zones d'éducation prioritaire (ZEP); ces zones étant superposables à la localisation des populations les plus vulnérables, nous pouvons constater, que les territoires situés dans le Nord et l'Est de la France sont parmi ceux où se trouvent le plus grand nombre de ZEP et la plus haute prévalence carieuse. Bien que l'enquête de la DRESS n'ait pas effectivement pris en compte le facteur nutritionnel, elle établit un lien entre environnement et état sanitaire, en considérant le paramètre ZEP, et indique que la prévalence de la carie est dépendante du niveau socio-économique des populations, et donc de l'accès aux ressources alimentaires.

En effet, les enfants généralement indemnes de caries appartiennent aux classes sociales aux revenus les plus élevés, parce que mieux informées des risques et des moyens de prévention. La précarité, au contraire, est associée à un faible niveau de ressources, d'éducation et d'information, qui conduisent à la consommation d'aliments peu onéreux, riches en sucres et en graisse et pauvres en fruits et légumes (Poulain *et al.* 2008); cette situation est actuellement résumée en disant que «20% de la population présente 80% des caries». En outre, les habitudes sanitaires peuvent aussi varier en fonction du niveau social.

L'aspect délétère le plus récent, associé à la situation de vulnérabilité socio-économique, est celui de l'apparition de la carie dentaire chez le très jeune enfant

(Warren *et al.* 2008: 70); actuellement ces enfants sont très tôt soumis à la même alimentation cariogène que celle des adultes et colonisés, à partir de leur mère polycariées, par *Streptococcus mutans*, dont le potentiel cariogène est bien établi (Irigoyen *et al.* 2009: 241).

Malgré ce constat alarmant, les enquêtes n'associent pas le versant nutrition à celui des études de la prévalence carieuse ; alors que le volet nutrition est abordé en lien avec d'autre pathologie (Luca *et al.* 2006–2007: 111) ou pour comparer le comportement alimentaire de populations sans prendre en compte l'état sanitaire dentaire (Prado *et al.* 2009: 19; Rovillé-Sausse, 2008: 79)

Le lien entre carie dentaire et environnement est par conséquent toujours d'actualité, mais il y manque le regard anthropologique qui pourrait renforcer la pertinence des enquêtes et leur intérêt dans la protection des populations. En effet, les résultats concernant les deux échantillons de populations, que nous avons étudiés, indiquent que la nutrition a un impact non seulement sur le pourcentage de caries mais aussi sur la localisation et la sévérité de l'atteinte; un simple pourcentage biaise la prise en compte de ces paramètres, essentiels à l'étude de l'évolution du processus carieux, selon les régimes alimentaires.

La mise en place d'un Programme national nutrition santé (PNNS) par le Ministère de la santé en France met bien en exergue le rôle de la nutrition sur l'état sanitaire des populations.

En conclusion, il paraît difficile d'extrapoler les résultats de notre analyse anthropologique, quant à l'effet des ressources alimentaires sur l'état sanitaire bucco-dentaire, aux populations actuelles, en raison de la complexité des situations et donc de la difficulté d'accéder à des informations pertinentes sur l'environnement socio-économique des individus examinés. Ce constat devrait néanmoins conduire à prendre en compte dans les enquêtes de prévalence de la carie dentaire, la nutrition et les habitudes sanitaires des individus. En effet, le type d'accès aux ressources est une constante, indiquant bien le rôle de l'alimentation sur le développement de la maladie carieuse, des périodes historiques à nos jours.

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CORRÉLATIONS ENTRE LA GRAVITÉ DE LA DÉFICIENCE SENSORIELLE ET LE DÉVELOPPEMENT PHYSIQUE DE CERTAINS ENFANTS ET ADOLESCENTS DÉFICIENTS D'OUÏE ET DE VUE

ELEONORA LUCA¹, C. VULPE², MONICA PETRESCU³, LĂCRĂMIOARA PETRE⁴

The main objective of this paper is the evaluation of the degree in which the gravity of sensorial deficiency affects the physical development of some people with visual and auditive deficiencies from two special schools from Bucharest. The material consists of 297 subjects between 7 and 17 years old (138 with visual deficiency and 159 with auditive deficiency). Have been used methods of bivariated qualitative and quantitative statistics (correlations, associations, contingency indices) and signification tests. On the entire number of phenotypical combinations, to the subjects with visual deficiency a medium to weak physical development associated with severe and very severe forms can be observed, but for the subjects with auditive deficiency the phenotypical variation is oriented from a medium to weak development associated with severe and less severe forms of deficiency (significant differences). For both groups of subjects, the cephalic and facial height and their indices have a small and medium development, associated with grave and very grave deficiencies, a situation more accentuated for the visual deficient. Only the visual deficient have a variation of frontal and mandible's breadth from a medium to a large development associated with grave and very grave forms. The nutritional indices show predominantly a weak to medium corporeal accomplishment, associated for the visual deficient with grave and very grave forms and for the deaf-and-dumb subjects with grave and less grave forms of sensorial deficiency.

Key words: sensorial deficiency, anthropometrical characters, phenotypical variability.

INTRODUCTION

L'objectif principal du travail c'est l'appréciation du développement physique dimensionnel et conformationnel de certains écoliers de deux écoles spéciales de Bucarest en corrélation avec la gravité de leur déficience auditive et/ou visuelle.

¹ Institut d' Anthropologie «Francisc I. Rainer», Bucarest, eleonluca@yahoo.com

² Institut d' Anthropologie «Francisc I. Rainer», Bucarest, corneliu_vulpe@yahoo.com

³ Institut d' Anthropologie «Francisc I. Rainer», Bucarest, monicapetrescu20032002@yahoo.ca

⁴ Institut d' Anthropologie «Francisc I. Rainer», Bucarest, lacrimuresan@yahoo.com

On sait que les caractères métriques ont une hérédité polygénique et leur phénotype (dimension, conformation) est modelé selon une multitude de facteurs génétiques et mésologiques (Susanne 1971: 693–718; Grouchy 1977: 120; Izvoranu 1993; Severin 1996: 114–118; Raicu 1997: 198–233). La déficience sensorielle et beaucoup d'autres maladies et syndromes représentent aussi des facteurs qui peuvent influencer la croissance et le développement (Geormăneanu 1986: 32–62; Walter-Roșianu 1986: 229–232; Dumitrache 2008: 139–180, 251–290, 385–392).

Pendant la période intra-utérine une série de facteurs participent à la réalisation de la conformation physique future de l'individu. Ceux-ci interviennent au cours de l'histogenèse et organogenèse pendant la période embryonnaire et dans l'étape de croissance et de développement pendant la période fœtale et leur action continue après la naissance aussi. Pendant la morphogenèse du crâne neural et viscéral se déroulent des processus qui peuvent déterminer des troubles fonctionnels ou/et dysmorphiques.

Au niveau de la calotte crânienne, à la base du crâne, au niveau du massif facial et de la mandibule – des parties qui ont un développement indépendant – il peut apparaître des dysmorphoses (malformations) complexes dénommées aussi craniosynostoses ou craniosténoses (Arseni & al. 1985: 9–79).

Les données anthropométriques et radiographiques corrélées avec l'examen clinique peuvent offrir des informations sur le développement de l'individu en soutenant le diagnostic dans une série d'affections (Păunescu-Podeanu 1983: 21–400; Arseni 1985: 22–31; Georgescu 1999: 22–70).

Les phénotypes métriques et morphologiques céphaliques, faciaux et corporels se constituent comme des signes cliniques mineurs ou majeurs pour beaucoup de maladies, syndromes héréditaires, et/ou congénitaux. Ainsi, un crâne étroit et allongé, un nez mince aux ailes petites, une face basse, une hypoplasie mandibulaire, des oreilles malformées et trop bas implantées, une stature petite et des membres courts ou, au contraire, une stature trop grande et une disproportion entre les membres et le tronc (rapport tronc/membres), un poids trop petit ou trop grand et même l'obésité, et, finalement, beaucoup d'autres caractéristiques morphométriques ont une valeur sémiologique dans les syndromes avec des implications oculaires, en surdité congénitale, en diverses maladies générales (Păunescu-Podeanu 1983: 21–70; Geormăneanu 1986: 32–62; Dumitrache 2008: 449–470).

La littérature roumaine de spécialité consigne quelques travaux d'anthropologie bio-médicale concernant des catégories d'enfants et de jeunes considérées «vulnérables»: des enfants orphelins, des enfants avec un handicap mental, sensoriel ou locomoteur (Ghigea 1991: 27–32; Roșca 1989: 19–26; Țarcă 1994: 27–33), des enfants et adolescents atteints d'hémophilie (Radu 1984: 20–29), des malades de thalassémie (Ciovica 2003) ou de syndrome d'immunodéficiences acquises = SIDA (Lazlo 2010) etc. Dans ces travaux les auteurs apprécient un développement plus faible des sujets par rapport aux sujets normaux et, en général, un retard en croissance et développement selon l'âge et le sexe.

Notre travail s'inscrit pertinemment dans l'étude anthropologique complexe démarrée en 2002 sur les enfants et adolescents déficients d'ouïe et de vue de deux écoles spéciales de Bucarest. Les résultats concernant divers aspects du développement physique, de la morphophysionomie (l'oreille et l'œil), dermatoglyphes, pathologie générale et/ou associée, l'hérabilité de la déficience, données démographiques et sociales, etc. ont été partiellement publiés (Luca 2011: 33–43, 276–282).

Par rapport aux enfants et adolescents normaux, les sujets déficients étudiés ont, en général, un bon développement physique (concernant les dimensions et les proportions) mais les valeurs moyennes sont prédominantes négatives, placées dans l'intervalle de variation « $M \pm \sigma$ » et « $M - \sigma$ ». Chez les garçons déficients d'ouïe la face est significativement plus basse, tandis que chez ceux déficients de vue la hauteur céphalique est plus petite et la mandibule est plus large. Les filles déficientes de vue ont les hauteurs faciales significativement plus petites et les largeurs relatives du front et du nez plus grandes. La comparaison selon la déficience sensorielle met en évidence un développement plus faible chez les déficients d'ouïe pour les largeurs céphaliques et faciales, pour le poids et l'accomplissement corporel. Le dimorphisme sexuel métrique n'est pas, en général, significatif statistiquement. (Luca & al. 2011: 276–282).

Une analyse comparative concernant les causes probables et la présence de la déficience sensorielle dans la généalogie des sujets apprécie une hérabilité plus accentuée pour la déficience visuelle qui se transmet avec prépondérance sur la ligne maternelle et préférentiellement chez les descendants masculins. Au contraire, les affections auditives dont les causes fréquentes sont diverses maladies contractées par la mère enceinte ou par le sujet en première enfance, divers médicaments et accidents, ont une faible hérabilité et se trouvent fréquemment chez les filles (Luca & al. 2011: 276–282).

Entre les deux lots de déficients on a calculé une corrélation significative et inversement proportionnelle entre le taux de gravité de la déficience et le rang du sujet. Chez les déficients de vue l'affection croît avec le rang vers les formes très graves, tandis que chez les sourds-muets celle-ci décroît vers les formes graves et moins graves (Luca & al 2011).

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODES

Le matériel d'étude est composé de 297 sujets, âgés de 7–17 ans, dont 138 déficients de vue (91 garçons et 47 filles) et 159 déficients d'ouïe (56 garçons et 103 filles).

Pour estimer le taux de développement dimensionnel et la conformation céphalique et corporelle en corrélation avec le degré de la déficience nous avons choisi (par une limitation circonstancielle) 18 caractères céphalo-faciaux (10 dimensions et 8 indices) et 4 caractères corporels (stature, poids, l'indice d'accomplissement corporel Rohrer et l'indice de masse corporelle Quetelet). Nous soulignons que le

prélèvement des mesurages a été assez difficile et parfois délicate. Nos échantillons prouvent statistiquement la représentativité tenant compte du nombre d'élèves inscrits dans les écoles spéciales pour les déficients sensoriels pendant les années de la recherche (Romanian Statistical Yearbook 2009: 404–408).

Il faut mentionner l'utilisation de la variable normée (distance réduite) «z» pour mettre en évidence le développement des sujets déficients par rapport aux sujets normaux et pour restreindre aussi les influences des autres affections des sujets, principalement neurologiques et psychosomatiques (Luca & al. 2011:276–282; Rapp. OMS 1995). Pour faciliter l'application des méthodes mathématiques nous avons placé les phénotypes de développement physique sur une échelle sigmatique de trois catégories de variation: «réduit» ($<M-\sigma$), «moyen» ($M\pm\sigma$) et «grand» ($>M+\sigma$).

Nous avons établi le degré de la gravité de la déficience sensorielle selon les données inscrites dans les fiches médicales et généalogiques (Vulpe & Petrescu 2002–2006) pour chaque sujet. Pour réaliser une correspondance relative entre les deux lots de déficients concernant le degré de la gravité nous avons dénommé trois catégories de variation phénotypique de la déficience: «moins grave», «grave» et «très grave».

L'existence d'une possible liaison ou d'une concordance entre la déficience et certains caractères physiques a été prouvée par l'analyse statistique bivariable avec ses paramètres spécifiques de corrélation (r) ou/et d'association (χ^2) qui apprécient l'intensité absolue de l'association et l'indice de contingence (T) pour celle relative. Selon les données, pour apprécier le comportement d'une variable par rapport à l'autre, ont été constituées des paires individuelles qui expriment sous une forme numérique (quantification) le degré de développement/déficience. Ainsi nous avons travaillé avec 9 combinaisons (3×3 catégories de développement/déficience) sur 22 caractères. Finalement, pour une conclusion générale, nous avons calculé le total des combinaisons phénotypiques et leur variation selon le caractère, le lot et le sexe (Dragomirescu 1998: 162–195; Mureșan 1989: 160–202; Iosifescu & al. 1985: 181–208, 382–506).

RÉSULTATS ET DISCUSSIONS

1. VARIABILITÉ DES FORMES DE GRAVITÉ DE LA DÉFICIENCE SENSORIELLE (Figure 1)

Les formes de gravité ont été établies selon le taux de dépréciation fonctionnelle de l'ouïe ou de la vue. Comparativement, chez les déficients de vue prédominent les formes très graves et graves ($> 85\%$), tandis que chez les sourds-muets prédominantes sont celles graves ($> 40\%$) suivies par les formes moins graves (34%). Les différences entre les deux lots sont significatives.

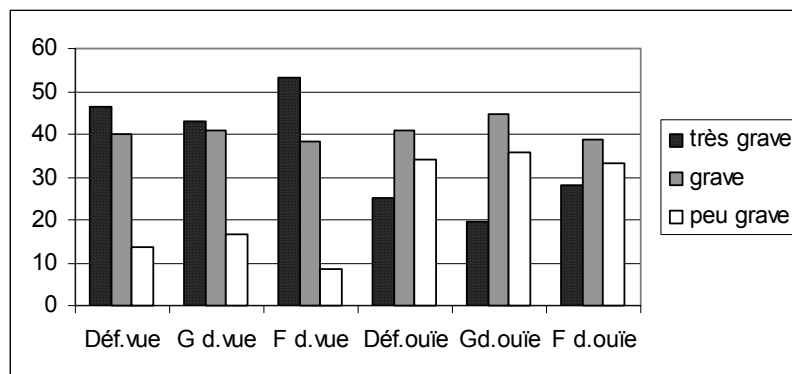


Fig. 1 – Variabilité du degré de gravité de la déficience sensorielle.

La variabilité des formes selon les sexes, quoique'il existe plus de garçons déficients de vue et, d'autre part, plus de filles déficientes d'ouïe, ne montre pas de différences sexuelles significatives pour la même forme de gravité de la déficience sensorielle. On constate, pourtant, un poids plus grand pour des formes très graves chez les filles de deux lots.

2. DEVELOPPEMENT PHYSIQUE EN CORRÉLATION AVEC LA GRAVITÉ DE LA DÉFICIENCE SENSORIELLE (Tableaux 1–3, Figures 2, 3)

2.1. Déficients de vue (Tableaux 1, 3, Figures 2,3)

Une appréciation générale concernant le total des combinaisons des phénotypes développement/déficience illustre une prédominance des associations entre le développement physique moyen et une déficience visuelle très grave et grave (25:21%), suivies par les associations d'un développement plus faible avec des déficiences très graves et graves (13:12%).

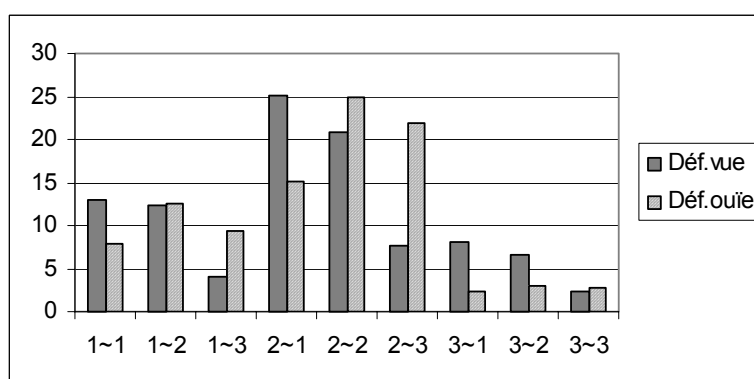


Fig. 2 – Associations développement / déficience sur le total des combinaisons phénotypiques.

Tableau 1

Association entre le développement céphalo-facial et le degré de gravité de la déficience visuelle

Nº	Caractère	Total déficients (N=138)			Garçons (N=91)	Filles (N=47)
		χ^2	T	r	r	r
1	g-op	6,21	0,15	0,05	0,07	-0,01
2	eu-eu	0,76	0,06	0,01	0,01	-0,05
3	t-v	8,67	0,18	-0,01	-0,01	0,02
4	P. céphalique	4,49	0,13	-0,15	-0,13	-0,15
5	ft-ft	11,41	0,20	-0,11	-0,04	-0,24
6	zy-zy	4,23	0,12	0,02	0,001	0,05
7	go-go	2,41	0,10	-0,12	-0,08	-0,16
8	n-gn	2,99	0,10	-0,11	-0,08	-0,11
9	n-sn	3,05	0,10	-0,08	-0,15	0,08
10	al-al	3,02	0,10	0,12	0,17	0,03
11	I. céphalique	5,10	0,14	-0,001	0,03	-0,11
12	I.V.L.	1,38	0,10	0,002	-0,01	0,05
13	I.V.T.	4,90	0,14	0,02	-0,04	0,18
14	I.F.P.	5,11	0,14	-0,03	-0,04	-0,06
15	I.F.Z.	3,91	0,10	-0,15	-0,12	-0,17
16	I.G.Z.	3,41	0,11	-0,12	-0,09	0,04
17	I. facial	10,38	0,20	-0,15	0,12	-0,25
18	I. nasal	4,65	0,13	0,16	0,22	0,06

Au niveau des dimensions céphalo-faciales, on voit une prédominance nette des hauteurs céphaliques (t-v) petites associées avec les formes très graves et graves (>50%). La hauteur faciale (n-gn), ayant un développement prédominant réduit et moyen, s'associe en poids presque égaux avec les formes très graves et graves. La courbe de variation des autres dimensions à un maximum dans les catégories moyennes avec des formes graves et très graves est dirigée vers le développement réduit associé avec les formes très graves et graves. On remarque un comportement différent pour les largeurs frontales (ft-ft) et mandibulaires (go-go), où la courbe se dirige vers les catégories de développement grand avec une déficience très grave et grave.

Concernant les conformations céphalo-faciales, on met en évidence la hauteur céphalique rapportée à la longueur de la tête (indice vertico-longitudinal – IVL) avec un développement prédominant réduit associé avec les formes très graves et graves (~ 45%). L'indice céphalique (IC), vertico-transversal (IVT) et facial (IF), ayant des phénotypes prépondérant moyens associés avec des formes très graves et graves ont une variation orientée vers un développement petit avec les mêmes formes.

Les indices de largeur du front (IFP), de la mandibule (IGZ) et du nez (IN) varient vers un développement plus grand avec des déficiences très graves et graves.

Tableau 2

Association entre le développement céphalo-facial et le degré de gravité de la déficience auditive

Nº	Caractère	Total déficients (N=159)			Garçons (N=56)	Filles (N=103)
		χ^2	T	r	r	r
1	g-op	2,38	0,10	0,003	0,07	-0,04
2	eu-eu	0,65	0,05	-0,001	0,17	-0,11
3	t-v	2,63	0,09	0,07	0,19	0,03
4	P. céphalique	3,82	0,11	0,21	0,01	0,06
5	ft-ft	2,58	0,10	0,06	0,09	0,04
6	zy-zy	4,35	0,12	0,06	0,25	-0,04
7	go-go	3,75	0,11	0,11	0,29	0,03
8	n-gn	8,14	0,17	0,08	0,31	-0,06
9	n-sn	2,35	0,09	0,05	-0,10	0,14
10	al-al	5,02	0,14	-0,18	-0,12	-0,20
11	I. céphalique	1,37	0,07	-0,05	0,03	-0,08
12	I.V.L.	6,60	0,14	-0,08	-0,22	0,01
13	I.V.T.	6,42	0,14	-0,10	-0,34	0,01
14	I.F.P.	3,81	0,11	0,08	-0,20	0,20
15	I.F.Z.	1,65	0,07	0,05	-0,11	0,14
16	I.G.Z.	2,15	0,10	0,10	0,06	0,12
17	I. facial	12,43	0,20	0,13	0,19	0,11
18	I. nasal	13,20	0,20	-0,15	-0,13	-0,16

Tableau 3

Association entre le développement corporel et le degré de gravité de la déficience sensorielle

Nº	Caractère	Total déficients			Garçons	Filles
		χ^2	T	r	r	r
	Déficients de vue	(N=138)			(N=91)	(N=103)
1	Stature	6,00	0,15	0,09	0,04	0,16
2	Poids	5,75	0,15	0,10	0,16	0,04
3	I. Rohrer	6,22	0,15	0,01	0,01	0,04
4	I. Quetelet	7,12	0,17	0,10	0,11	0,05
	Déficients d'ouïe	(N=159)			(N=56)	(N=103)
1	Stature	1,61	0,07	0,06	0,27*	-0,04
2	Poids	6,08	0,14	0,11	0,31*	0,03
3	I. Rohrer	11,17	0,19	0,10	0,25*	0,05
4	I. Quetelet	0,44	0,04	0,04	0,20	0,16

Corporellement, la répartition des combinaisons phénotypiques se ressemble pour la stature et le poids, ayant la prépondérance des associations «développement moyen/déficiência très grave et grave» et la courbe de variation étant presque symétrique. Pour les indices qu'illustrent la trophicité et l'accomplissement corporel, Rohrer et Quetelet ou l'indice de masse corporel (IMC), on constate un poids maximal des associations entre une corpulence faible et des déficiences très graves et graves avec une variation vers la corpulence moyenne.

2.2. Déficients d'ouïe (Tableaux 2, 3, Figures 2,3)

Concernant le total des combinaisons phénotypiques, à une estimation générale, on observe la prédominance des associations entre le développement physique moyen et les déficiences graves et moins graves (25:22%), suivies par les celles d'entre le développement réduit avec une déficiência grave (12,5%). Par rapport aux déficients de vue, on constate des différences significatives.

Les phénotypes dimensionnels céphalo-faciaux varient plus fréquemment d'un développement moyen associé avec des formes graves et moins graves – associations maximales – vers un développement réduit avec toutes les formes de déficiência auditive.

L'orientation de la courbe est plus accentuée pour les hauteurs de la tête (t-v) et de la face (n-gn) associées principalement avec les formes graves.

Pour tous les indices céphalo-faciaux les fréquences maximales des combinaisons «développement/déficiência» se trouvent dans les catégories d'une conformation moyenne associée avec toutes les formes de gravité. Une orientation plus accentuée vers le développement réduit avec diverses formes de gravité s'enregistre pour l'indice facial (IF), la hauteur de la tête rapportée aux diamètres horizontaux céphaliques (IVL, IVT) et la largeur relative de la mandibule (IGZ). La largeur du front par rapport au largeur céphalique (IFP) est le seul caractère dont les phénotypes varient d'un développement moyen vers l'un large associé principalement avec les formes graves et très graves.

Corporellement, les phénotypes de la stature et du poids prédominent dans les catégories du développement moyen et varient faiblement vers un développement petit avec toutes les formes de gravité. En échange, la majorité des phénotypes de l'indice Quetelet sont placés dans les catégories du développement réduit avec tous les degrés de gravité (>60%), leur variation étant dirigée vers la corpulence moyenne. L'indice Rohrer a une variation avec un maximum dans la catégorie «développement moyen/déficiência grave», mais la répartition des phénotypes est large, en couvrant avec des fréquences approchées les catégories de la trophicité faible et moyenne associée avec toutes les formes de gravité de la déficiência de l'ouïe.

3. VARIABILITÉ DE L'ASSOCIATION «DÉVELOPPEMENT/DEFICIENCE SENSORIELLE» SELON LE SEXE (Tableaux 1–3, Figure 3)

3.1. Déficients de vue

Sur le total des combinaisons phénotypiques «développement/déficience visuelle» on observe chez les deux sexes une prédominance ressemblante avec le lot entier des associations entre un développement moyen et les déficiences très grave et grave. Les filles, par rapport aux garçons, ont un poids plus grand pour les associations entre les déficiences très graves et un développement moyen et grand, mais les différences ne sont pas significatives.

Au niveau des dimensions céphalo-faciaux les réduits fréquences maximales se trouvent dans les catégories de développement moyen/formes très graves et graves, excepté la hauteur céphalique chez les deux sexes, la hauteur faciale des garçons et la largeur céphalique des filles où les associations «développement réduit/formes graves et très graves» sont prédominantes. Les plus grandes variations des caractéristiques sont dirigées d'un développement moyen vers l'un réduit avec des formes graves et très graves. Les phénotypes de la largeur mandibulaire, chez les deux sexes et, en plus, ceux de la largeur faciale chez les filles, varient vers un développement grand associé avec des formes graves et très graves.

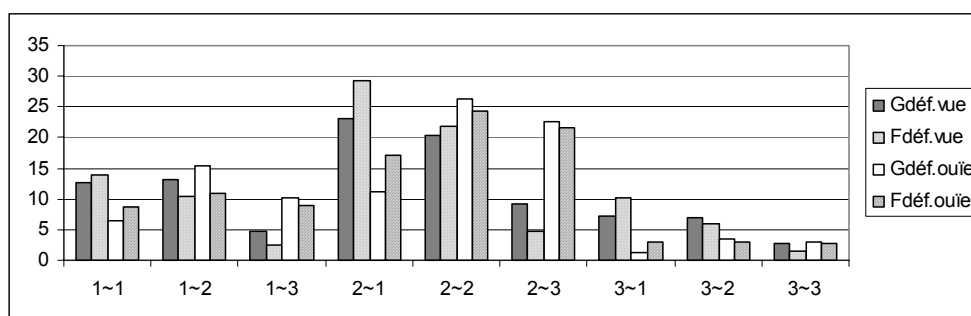


Fig. 3 – Associations développement/déficience sur le total des combinaisons phénotypiques selon le sexe.

Les indices céphalo-faciaux ont un comportement similaire chez les deux sexes avec le lot entier (voir 2.1).

Corporellement, on observe quelques différences. Ainsi, chez les garçons, la stature et le poids varient faiblement vers les catégories grandes avec toutes les formes de gravité, mais, chez les filles seulement le poids varie d'une façon similaire tandis que la stature varie faiblement vers les phénotypes petits avec des formes graves et très graves. Les indices de nutrition varie chez les garçons d'un développement faible vers l'un moyen. Chez les filles, l'indice Rohrer a une variation phénotypique d'une trophicité moyenne vers l'une faible avec des formes graves et très graves.

3.2. Déficients d'ouïe

Les deux sexes ont plus fréquemment un développement moyen associé spécialement avec des formes graves et moins graves de la déficience auditive. Comparativement, les filles ont plus d'associations «développement moyen/forme très grave» (17:11%), les différences n'étant pas significatives.

Au niveau des dimensions céphalo-faciaux, la majorité des phénotypes ont un développement moyen avec des formes graves et moins graves et la variation est dirigée chez les deux sexes vers un développement réduit avec des formes principalement graves. La largeur faciale (zy-zy) s'inscrit dans les catégories moyennes variant vers les plus grandes avec des formes fréquemment moins graves. Chez les filles, en plus, la hauteur nasale varie similairement mais associée avec les formes graves.

L'indice facial enregistre chez les filles des poids égaux dans les catégories moyennes et petites (44%), tandis que chez les garçons ceci varie d'une face basse avec toutes les formes de gravité (52%) vers une face moyenne avec principalement des formes moins graves.

L'indice Quetelet varie d'un développement prédominant réduit vers l'un moyen avec des formes graves. L'indice Rohrer varie comme l'indice Quetelet chez les garçons, tandis que chez les filles l'indice varie d'un développement moyen vers l'un réduit avec toutes les formes de gravité.

CONCLUSIONS

L'analyse des résultats de notre recherche concernant l'influence du degré de l'affection fonctionnelle de l'ouïe ou de la vue sur le développement physique des certains enfants et adolescents déficients nous permet à esquisser quelques caractéristiques «morpho-métriques» des lots étudiés :

1. Les déficients de vue, dont le développement physique s'associe davantage avec les formes d'affection très grave et grave, ont en majorité des hauteurs céphaliques et faciales basses, des largeurs frontales et faciales moyennes-grandes, la stature et le poids moyens mais l'accomplissement corporel faible.
2. Comparativement, les déficients d'ouïe, dont le développement physique s'associe davantage avec les formes d'affection grave et moins grave, ont en majorité des hauteurs céphaliques et faciales moyennes-basses, une face moyenne vers large avec la mandibule plus étroite, la stature et le poids moyens faiblement vers petits et l'accomplissement corporel plus faible.
3. Concernant les deux sexes, on voit que chez les garçons nous trouvons les mêmes caractéristiques du chaque lot, tandis que chez les filles on remarque quelques différences concernant principalement les largeurs dimensionnelles plus accentuées et un meilleur accomplissement. Par rapport aux garçons, les filles de deux lots ont un poids plus grand de formes très graves et graves de la déficience sensorielle.

4. En dépit des limites d'interprétation qui s'imposent certainement, le travail vient, parmi d'autres, d'enrichir les données concernant les déficients sensoriels et le tableau sémiologique pour une «anthropo-diagnose».

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MTDNA HAPLOGROUP FREQUENCIES IN FOUR BALKAN POPULATIONS FROM BULGARIA (BULGARIANS AND KARAKACHANI), REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA (ETHNIC ALBANIANS) AND SERBIA

JUDITH KLEIN¹, JOANA PEREIRA², SOFIA BALTOVA³, LJUDMILA EFREMOVSKA⁴,
H.-G. SCHEIL⁵, TANJA ARENT⁶, R. NEVES⁷, H. D. SCHMIDT⁸

In order to complete the information about phylogenetics of Balkan populations, mtDNA haplogroup frequencies were determined in ethnic Karakachani (from Bulgaria), ethnic Bulgarians, Albanians (from Skopje, Republic of Macedonia), and Serbs. We observed that the haplogroup frequencies were in the same range as for other Balkan populations reported. The results of the Neighbour-joining tree and of the Principal component analysis did not show closer genetic relationships between the Karakachani and the Aromanians. The Aromanians do not represent a uniform group of populations. The AMOVA method revealed significant differences between Aromanians (irrespective of inclusion of Karakachani) and other Balkan populations. It is assumed that Karakachani and Aromanians may be remainders of a basic Balkan population, and that they acquired different genetic marker frequencies by isolation and genetic drift during the past.

Key words: Karakachani, Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, Aromanians, mtDNA haplogroup frequencies.

INTRODUCTION

The Karakachani (Greek: Sarakatsani) and the Aromanians or Vlachs comprise two of the population minorities of the Balkans. The Karakachani are a group of

¹ Institute of Legal Medicine, Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf, Germany (jukl@gmx.net).

² Institute of Legal Medicine, Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf, Germany (joana.pvp@gmail.com).

³ Department of Anatomy and Physiology of Man, Biological Faculty, University of Plovdiv, Bulgaria (sofiabaltova@mail.bg).

⁴ Institut za Fiziologija so Antropologija, Medicinski Fakultet, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia (ljudmilaj@freemail.com.mk).

⁵ Auf der Böck 53, D-40221 Düsseldorf (hgscheil@t-online.de).

⁶ Institute of Legal Medicine, Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf, Germany (Tanja.Arent@med.uni-duesseldorf.de).

⁷ Institute of Diagnostic Transplantation and Cellular Therapy, Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf, Germany (ruineves@itz.uni-duesseldorf.de).

⁸ Institute of Human Genetics and Anthropology, University Ulm, Germany (hordiet.schmidt@web.de).

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Greek-speaking people, who are mostly located in Greece, a smaller group lives in Bulgaria, mainly in the vicinity of the town of Sliven. There are some ethnological studies concerning the Karakachani, e.g. Marinov (1964), Kavadias (1965), Pimpireva (1998) and Kaljonski (1999). Studies on morphological or genetic markers are relatively scarce. Studies on morphological markers include Poulianos (1973), Kavgazova *et al.* (2002, dermatoglyphics), whereas Kouvatsi *et al.* (1994), Janeva *et al.* (2005) used hemogenetic markers, and Pereira *et al.* (2009) or Pitsios (1973) investigated STR polymorphisms or colour blindness, respectively. The Aromanians, speaking a Roman language, mainly live in Albania or Greece, and in the Republic of Macedonia.

Basic ethnological studies on the Aromanians were conducted by Weigand (1894). Further studies were published by e.g. Cusa (1996), Kahl (1999), Nandris (1987), Peyfuss (1994) and Winnifrith (1987). Morphological studies were conducted by Necrasov (1965), Scheil *et al.* (2005, dermatoglyphics). Huckenbeck *et al.* (2000, 2001), Scheil *et al.* (2001, 2002) and Schmidt *et al.* (2000a,b, 2003) published data on hemogenetic markers, Arent *et al.* (2008) and Pereira *et al.* (2009) on STR polymorphisms, Comas *et al.* (2004) on ALU-insertion polymorphisms and Bosch *et al.* (2006) on mtDNA.

The genetic relationships between Karakachani and Aromanians remain quite unclear. Due to their similar lifestyle (both groups lived in transhumance in the past) they were often considered as one group, differing in language only. Although the Karakachani themselves deny a nearer genetic relationship with the Aromanians or Vlachs, it is discussed that the Karakachani may be a Hellenised branch of the Aromanians or Vlachs (Kavadias 1965). Additionally, the Karakachani believe that they used to live in the Pindus Mountains, a large Aromanian settlement area. This study reports on mtDNA haplogroup frequencies of four Balkan populations: Bulgarians and Karakachani (Bulgaria), Albanians (Republic of Macedonia), and Serbs (Serbia) in comparison with other data from the Balkans in order to enlighten the position of the Karakachani in relation to the Aromanians.

METHODS

The mitochondrial DNA haplogroups were studied in the following populations: 78 Karakachani from Sliven and Karlovo (Bulgaria), 86 ethnic Bulgarians (mostly from Plovdiv), 95 Serbs (79 from the region of Niš, Kruševak, Kraljevo, Čačak and Kragujevac, Serbia, and 16 Serbs residing in Germany), 92 Albanians from Skopje (Republic of Macedonia). The Karakachani were sampled on the basis of their own statement to belong to this ethnicity. The donors (aged 18–45) were unrelated, healthy individuals. They were informed about the study purpose and their consent was obtained before collection.

DNA was extracted from blood spots using an adapted protocol involving Chelex[®] 100 (Biorad) (Walsch *et al.* 1991) or, alternatively, using the NucleoSpin[®] Tissue kit (Macherey-Nagel). The haplogroups were determined using the Single Nucleotide Polymorphisms (SNPs) located within the Hypervariable region I (HVI) of mtDNA and a set of seven additional SNPs located in the coding region

(positions 7028, 10400, 10873, 11251, 11719, 12308, 12705), as previously described (Bosch *et al.* 2006). While the SNPs on the HVI region were analysed by sequencing the entire region using a previously described method (Vanecek *et al.* 2004), the seven SNPs on the coding region were analysed using a novel approach. A multiplex Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR) was performed using the primers listed on Table 1. Reactions proceeded in a total volume of 25 µl containing 0.4 µM of each primer (Thermo, Germany), 3mM of MgCl₂, 400 µM of each dinucleotide triphosphate (dNTP) (Peqlab, Germany), and 1.5U of HotStarTaq DNA Polymerase (Qiagen, Germany). The thermal cycler program included an initial 14min. incubation period at 95°C followed by 35 cycles of denaturation at 95°C for 1 min, annealing at 54°C for 35 sec and extension at 72°C for 1 min. Cycles were followed by a final elongation step at 72°C for 7 min. Amplification products were purified using the QIAquick PCR Purification kit (Qiagen, Germany), and the seven referred SNPs were sequenced using the SNaPshot[®] Multiplex kit (Applied Biosystems, USA) and the primers already described (Bosch *et al.* 2006). Sequencing products were dephosphorylated with Calf Intestinal Alkaline Phosphatase (CIP) (New England Biolabs[®], USA), following the manufacturer's protocol and run on an ABI 3130 Genetic Analyzer (Applied Biosystems, USA). Determination of the SNPs was made with GeneMapper[®] ID v3.2 Software (Applied Biosystems, USA). After determining the SNPs in coding and HVI regions, the haplogroups were fused based on comparison with data from the literature (Malyarchuk *et al.* 2003, Cvjetan *et al.* 2004, Bosch *et al.* 2006, Oven *et al.* 2009). For the comparison of the populations, some haplogroups of the literature cited had to be combined: J1 and J2 to J*, T1 – T5 to T*, U5a and U5b to U5, U6 – U8 to U*, R and F to F, N1a and N1b to N, D4, C a, M3c to M. The Neighbour-joining tree was made with PHYLIP (Felsenstein 1993), the Principal component analysis was done with SPSS 17.0 and an analysis of molecular variance (AMOVA) was done with ARLEQUIN 3.1 (Excoffier *et al.* 2007).

Table 1

Primers used in the multiplex amplification of the fragments including the seven analyzed SNPs on the mtDNA coding region

Primers	Sequence	Product length (bps)	SNPs within the fragment
L 6906	5'-ACG GAA GCA ATA TGA AAT GAT-3'	993	7028
H 7861	5'-TTG ATG GTA AGG GAG GGA-3'		
L 10374	5'-CCC TAA GTC TGG CCT ATG AGT-3'	541	10400, 10873
H 10915	5'-GAG GAA AAG GTT GGG GAA-3'		
L 11219	5'-GCA CAT ACT TCC TAT TCT ACA CCC-3'	707	11251, 11719
H 11926	5'-GAG TCC TGT AAG TAG GAG AGT GAT ATT T-3'		
L 12284	5'-TTC TCA ACT TTT AAA GGA TAA CAG C-3'	448	12308, 12705
H 12732	5'-TGG AAT AGG TTG TTA GCG GTA-3'		

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The haplogroup frequencies of the four population samples studied are listed in Table 2. The frequencies of haplogroups J*, T1 and U5* showed the largest differences between the studied populations. As in other European populations, the haplogroup H was the most common. In general, the frequencies were in the range of other Balkan populations (c.f. Malyarchuk *et al.* 2003, Cvjetan *et al.* 2004, Bosch *et al.* 2006).

Table 2

MtDNA haplogroup frequencies in the populations studied. N, number of individuals

	Karakachani	Serbs	Albanians	Bulgarians
mtDNA (N)	78	95	92	86
preHV	–	–	–	0,012
HV	0,051	0,084	0,065	0,058
V	–	0,011	–	–
H	0,423	0,505	0,370	0,430
J*	0,103	0,021	0,163	0,070
J1	0,064	–	0,011	0,023
J2	–	–	–	0,012
T*	0,026	0,042	0,022	0,070
T1	0,103	0,011	0,043	–
T2	–	–	0,022	–
K	0,026	0,032	0,087	0,047
U*	0,038	0,032	0,043	0,023
U1	0,026	–	0,011	0,012
U3	0,026	0,021	0,022	0,035
U4	–	0,021	0,033	0,070
U5*	0,038	0,116	0,043	0,058
N	–	0,011	0,011	–
N1b	–	0,021	–	–
A	0,013	–	–	–
C	–	–	0,011	–
I	–	0,011	0,011	0,012
W	–	0,032	0,033	0,035
X	0,038	0,021	–	0,035
M	0,026	0,011	–	–

The results obtained were compared with data from other Balkan populations (Malyarchuk *et al.* 2003, Cvjetan *et al.* 2004, Bosch *et al.* 2006). The Neighbour-joining tree shows that the Serbs analysed in the present work together with the majority of the other populations are located in the centre with rather small genetic distances (Fig. 1). Contrasting to that central localization, the Karakachani (1 in Fig. 1) and the ethnic Bulgarians (11) are farther separated, but show clear distances between each other.

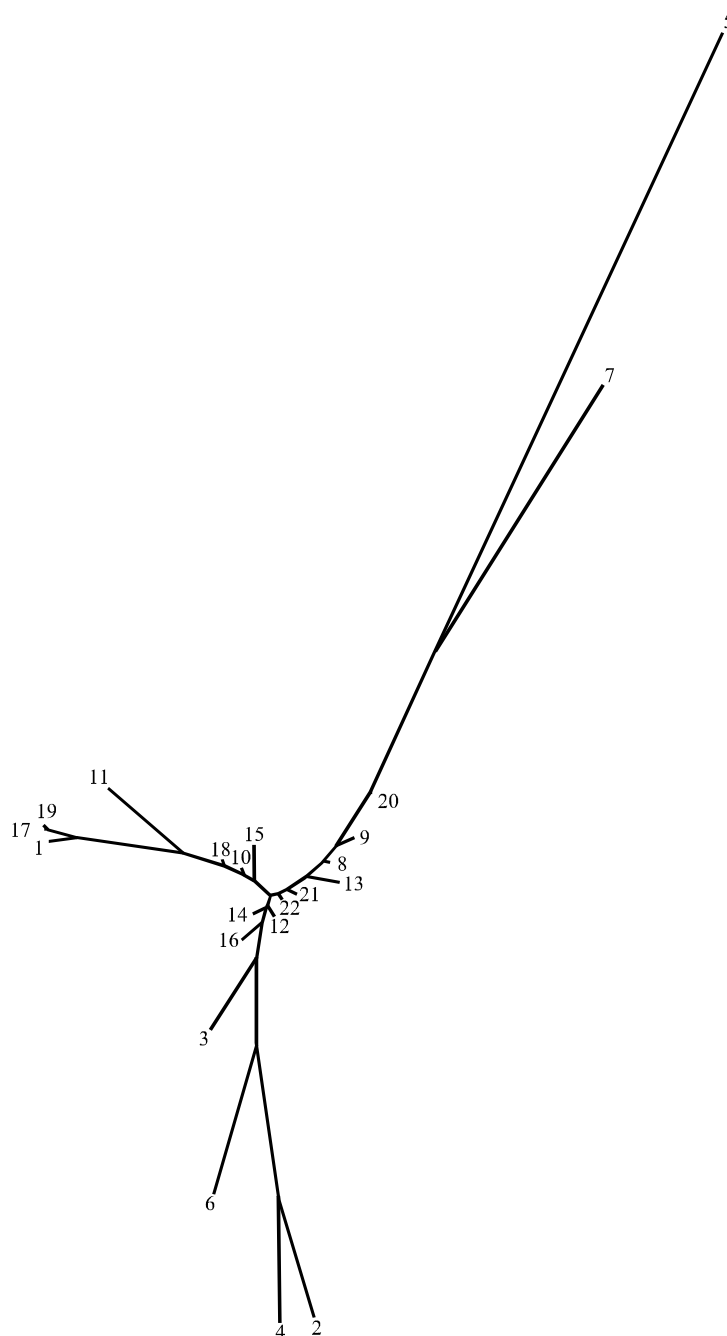


Fig. 1 – Neighbour-joining tree of the samples studied compared with data from the literature. Klein *et al.*: MtDNA haplogroup frequencies in four Balkan populations from Bulgaria (Bulgarians and Karakachani), Macedonia (ethnic Albanians) and Serbia.

The Aromanians (2–6) are characterised by larger distances to the other populations, and to each other as well. Contradicting the sometimes-suggested relationship between Karakachani and Aromanian populations, these groups appear completely separated in this genetic analysis. The difference between the position of the Albanians from Tirana (7) and from Skopje (17) is striking. The results obtained by a Principal component analysis of the same populations confirm the separation observed, though the first three principal components comprise only 35.69% of the cumulative variance (Fig. 2). In this analysis it becomes apparent that the Karakachani (1) and the ethnic Bulgarians (11) are in a separate position compared to the other populations. Furthermore, it also becomes clear that the Aromanians (2–6) are separated from both the Karakachani and the ethnic Bulgarians and other populations as well.

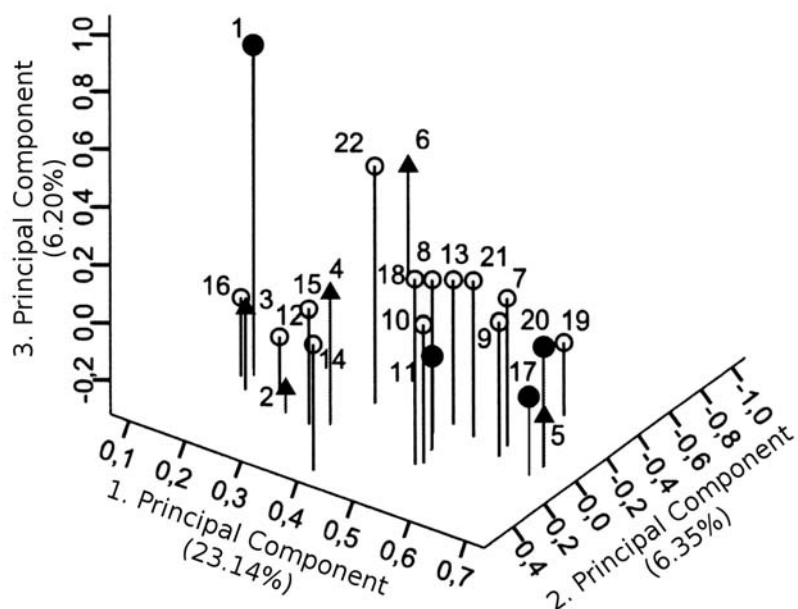


Fig. 2 – Principal component analyses of the samples studied compared with data from the literature. Klein *et al.*: MtDNA haplogroup frequencies in four Balkan populations from Bulgaria (Bulgarians and Karakachani), Republic of Macedonia (ethnic Albanians) and Serbia.

Comparison between populations was also performed by ANOVA (Table 3). The highest variances are seen within populations. Despite the significant difference in magnitude between the values within populations and among groups/populations, significant values among groups and among populations are found when considering the Aromanians (irrespective of inclusion of the

Karakachani) versus other Balkan populations. Significant differences are found considering the haplogroups grouping by language or grouping Aromanians (irrespective of inclusion of the Karakachani) versus other Balkan populations. Among populations there are only significant differences considering Aromanians (irrespective of inclusion of the Karakachani) versus other Balkan populations. There are no significant differences between Karakachani and Aromanians, probably caused by the combination of the rather differing Aromun samples. This contrasts to the positions of the Karakachani and the Aromanians in the Neighbour-joining tree and in the Principal component analysis. With the three statistical procedures, the Karakachani and the Aromanians show differences to other Balkan populations. Furthermore, the results of the Neighbour-joining tree and the Principal component analysis prove that the Karakachani and the different groups of Aromun populations do not represent a uniform group of populations by any means.

Table 3

Analysis of molecular variance (AMOVA). Grey marked p values are significant (probability of error 5%)

	Among groups	p	Among populations	p	Within populations	p
Grouped by ethnicity	0,00	0,40274 ±0,01699	0,40	1,00000 ±0,00000	99,60	0,00587 ±0,00219
Grouped by language	0,28	0,00684 ±0,00336	0,22	0,08504 ±0,00775	99,50	0,00489 ±0,00203
Grouped by country	0,15	0,08211 ±0,00986	0,31	0,33627 ±0,01436	99,55	0,01173 ±0,00363
Karakachani vs. Aromanians	-0,08	0,49853 ±0,01174	1,30	0,08993 ±0,00989	98,78	0,05474 ±0,00736
Karakachani and Aromanians vs. other populations	0,33	0,01564 ±0,00368	0,32	0,02835 ±0,00505	99,35	0,00880 ±0,00288
Aromanians vs. other populations (Karakachani not included)	0,43	0,00293 ±0,00164	0,29	0,03910 ±0,00599	99,28	0,01662 ±0,00340

For the Aromanians, this has been shown by studies of polymorphisms of blood groups, serum proteins and erythrocyte enzymes (Scheil *et al.* 2004, Schmidt *et al.* 2000, 2003), STRs (Huckenbeck *et al.* 2001, Arent *et al.* 2008), ALU insertions (Comas *et al.* 2004), and mtDNA (Bosch *et al.* 2006). In all cases, the Aromanians are more or less separated from other populations. For the Karakachani this has

been shown by a study of STR polymorphisms (Pereira *et al.* 2009). It is possible that the Karakachani and the Aromanians comprise remainders of a basic population of the Balkans. Following the adoption of Greek (Karakachani) or Romanian language (Aromanians) and due to their special mode of lifestyle (transhumance) these populations were hardly affected by genetic influences of other populations during the last centuries. The differences in the frequencies of the genetic markers can be interpreted as a result of isolation and genetic drift.

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CAPTIONS FOR FIGURES

Fig. 1 – Neighbour-joining tree of the samples studied compared with data from the literature. 1: Karakachani (Bulgaria), 2: Aromanians (Albania, Dukasi, Musequiars), 3: Aromanians (Albania, Andon Poci, Pindonians), 4: Aromanians (Macedonia, Kruševo, Moskopoliars), 5: Aromanians (Macedonia, Stip region, Gramostians), 6: Aromanians (Romania, Kogalniceanu, Fraseriots), 7: Albanians (Tirana), 8: Bosnians (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 9: Bosnians (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 10: Herzegovinians (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 11: Bulgarians (Plovdiv), 12: Croatians (Croatian mainland), 13: Croatians (Croatian coast), 14: Greeks (Thrace), 15: Macedonians (Skopje), 16: Macedonians, 17: Albanians (Macedonia, Skopje), 18: Romanians (Constanta), 19: Romanians (Ploiesti), 20: Serbs, 21: Serbs, 22: Slovenians.
1, 11, 17, 20: this study; 2–7, 14, 15, 18, 19: Bosch *et al.* (2006); 8, 22: Malyarchuk *et al.* (2003); 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 21: Cvjetan *et al.* (2004).

Fig. 2 – Principal component analyses of the samples studied compared with data from the literature. 1: Karakachani (Bulgaria), 2: Aromanians (Albania, Dukasi, Musequiars), 3: Aromanians (Albania, Andon Poci, Pindonians), 4: Aromanians (Macedonia, Kruševo, Moskopoliars), 5: Aromanians (Macedonia, Stip region, Gramostians), 6: Aromanians (Romania, Kogalniceanu, Fraseriots), 7: Albanians (Tirana), 8: Bosnians (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 9: Bosnians (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 10: Herzegovinians (Bosnia-Herzegovina), 11: Bulgarians (Plovdiv), 12: Croatians (Croatian mainland), 13: Croatians (Croatian coast), 14: Greeks (Thrace), 15: Macedonians (Skopje), 16: Macedonians, 17: Albanians (Macedonia, Skopje), 18: Romanians (Constanta), 19: Romanians (Ploiesti), 20: Serbs, 21: Serbs, 22: Slovenians.
1, 11, 17, 20: this study; 2–7, 14, 15, 18, 19: Bosch *et al.* (2006); 8, 22: Malyarchuk *et al.* (2003); 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 21: Cvjetan *et al.* (2004); ●: this study; ▲: Aromanians; ○: other Balkan populations.

GLOBALIZATION AND SHARED PRACTICES: ON BRAZILIAN JIU-JITSU AND PAIN COMMUNITIES¹

ALEXANDRU ȘTEFAN DINCOVICI²

Pain has usually been the realm of medical anthropology, a discipline that has focused mostly on specific categories of pain, resulting either from illness or from injury and involving a great amount of suffering. This widely researched pain has almost become the norm in anthropology research, its main characteristics being its world destructive effects and impossibility to be communicated and thus understood. In this article I discuss a different, almost opposite type of pain: controlled, positive, communicable and, most of all, devoid of suffering. This is how pain looks in the modern combat sport of Brazilian jiu-jitsu, a bodily practice that, by its dissemination through instructional videos and forums on the internet, can create a worldwide community of practitioners that share the same experiences of pain. Drawing on an extensive ethnographic study, the article looks at how the sport has entered the Romanian scene and brought technical knowledge that created corresponding pain related knowledge, as well as at the role of pain in the learning process and its importance for the practitioners.

Key words: anthropology of the body, pain, combat sports.

When one hears about another person's physical pain, the events happening within the interior of that person's body may seem to have the remote character of some deep subterranean fact, belonging to an invisible geography that, however portentous, has no reality because it has not yet manifested itself on the visible surface of the earth. (Scarry 1985: 3)

INTRODUCTION: UNSPEAKABLE AND SPEAKABLE PAINS

Trying to communicate pain can be a difficult endeavor. It transcends the barriers of language and is such a personal experience that it is usually impossible

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to be understood by others. Despite the arduous efforts of the medical sciences to turn pain into an object, its subjective side resists in the face of science's categorization efforts and refuses to fit into scales and objective descriptions. A pain level of eight on a certain scale characterized by a series of adjectives could give us a clue about the extent of the physical damage, but it will never convey any of its meaning. As Elaine Scarry described it, pain is about the making and unmaking of the world (Good 1994). It not only attacks our bodies, it can also shatter the very foundations of our existence, question our entire world and modes of being in the world. It is so personal that others cannot understand it and, from a certain point, even cease to try. For chronic pain patients, at least, their condition is often a curse that makes everyone else avoid them and their suffering, impossible to be understood and impossible to be communicated with words.

Language cannot speak the unspeakable, a thing that Georgio Agamben, among many others, has noticed in the case of Auschwitz (Agamben 2002). We could thus imagine a sufferer or suffering as an original, distinct, isolated case, a local world with a meaning and experience that can hardly be described by language and thus never truly understood by others.

The fact is, though, that pain comes in many shapes. And if the previous statements apply, no doubt, to all of the cases in which pain is alien and unwanted, world disruptive and invasive, there are also cases in which pain becomes embraced on a daily basis for its positive and world-building effects.

These particular cases, built around a set of shared practices, can allow us to see a different side of pain. This one is controlled, and has a series of effects that situate it at the opposite of most of the previous research on pain in medical anthropology and social sciences, with a major role in the skill learning process. In what follows, I will thus take as an example the practice of Brazilian jiu-jitsu, a rather modern combat grappling sport, and show how controlled pain is articulated in this special practice that creates an experience of pain, shared by Brazilian jiu-jitsu practitioners around the world largely due to some of globalization's effects.

METHODS

The following data comes from a three year extensive ethnographic study in a Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu gym in Bucharest. The approach I use is mainly phenomenological (Cresswell 2007; Giorgi & Giorgi 2003; Giorgi 1997), and focuses on the experiences of the sports practitioners, combined with what could be called an autophenomenography (Grupetta 2004; Allen-Collinson 2011), as I draw in part on my own lived experience of Brazilian jiu-jitsu and the years spent in the gym training not only myself but also other people.

Drawing mostly on Merleau-Ponty, the phenomenological method has been thoroughly applied in the study of pain (Loland 2006; Leder 1990) and can be seen to belong to an existentialist tradition, with a focus "upon the sensory dimensions

of embodiment” (Allen-Collinson 2009:283). The bodies concerned by the present article are actually existing bodies that should not and cannot be reduced “to the rank of another text liable to an essentially hermeneutic treatment” (Wacquant 2009: 511). The most significant implication of this methodological choice concerns the discussion of pain, which will mostly be analyzed through its sensory-motor implications. Although I admit language is in itself extremely important to such an endeavor, there are embodied aspects that escape it and can hardly be verbalized (see Parlebas 1998 and Warnier 2007 for a more detailed discussion on procedural and verbalized knowledge). Thus, while language presents the self in a reflexive, rhetorical process, it usually misses a lot of what happens at the level of embodiment (Seligman 2010), the main focus of the current article.

Autophenomenography (Grupetta 2004; Allen-Collinson 2011) is a relatively recent concept in need of at least a broad definition. One might consider it the phenomenological side of autoethnography (Holman Jones 2005). In its more comprehensive formulation, the concept is described as “an autobiographical genre in which the phenomenological researcher is both researcher and participant in her/his study of a particular phenomenon or phenomena, rather than of a particular *ethnós* (social group that shares a common culture) subjecting her/his own lived experience to a sustained and rigorous phenomenological analysis” (Allen-Collinson 2011:53). The first observation that imposes itself here is that the definition seems not to apply to the present fieldwork, since the study is primarily about a particular social group that shares a common culture of pain. Nevertheless, this is the reason why I consider autophenomenographic data as auxiliary during the current research, its main function being of confirming the rest of the phenomenological data gathered during observation and interviews.

As I have myself become a member of the group during these years, I consider my own experiences to hold just as much value as any other Brazilian jiu-jitsu practitioner’s experiences, especially since I have been on both sides of the teacher-apprentice relationship. They have provided the starting point for most of the research design and have constantly been compared to the rest of the data in order to identify possible biases or to confirm some intuitions.

During all the years spent in the gym, I have been a “sensory apprentice” (Pink 2009:69), learning the skills that make a Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu fighter and immersing into the mat culture that surrounds this exotic martial art. My body and my senses thus allowed me to gain a valuable insight into the “sensory” world of grappling (Stoller 1997). Since fighting is a profoundly embodied phenomenon, such a strategy is appropriate for and has already become popular in sport studies (Allen-Collinson 2007, 2009; Nesti 2004; Drummond 2010) and more notably in previous research on fighting sports (Wacquant 2004; Downey 2005, but also Spencer 2009, 2012; Green 2011; Samudra 2008).

As Greg Downey noticed, the apprentice role not only allows the researcher to learn a skill (Ingold 2000; Gieser 2008), it also allows him to learn about it and to learn how one learns (Downey 2005:53). This is especially relevant for the

present article, since pain plays a crucial role in the skill learning process (Downey 2007) and it allows for a better understanding of the sporting context. Due to the specificity of grappling training, it is only fair to assume that another, less participatory research strategy would have resulted in a lot less understanding of the role pain plays in grappling and in the way it is experienced and articulated in the lived world of the fighter.

Since most of the daily pain is not chronic but acute, and usually not acute enough to provoke significant bodily expressions³ (such as screaming, for instance, or other ways of publicly acknowledging the pain and seeking relief), an observer sitting on a bench would have missed most of its manifestations. On the other hand, interviews would have needed a careful design almost impossible to achieve by a researcher with no experience of the sport in order to elicit an understanding of a pain that comes and goes and is seldom strong enough to become verbalized.

“Learning to sense and make meanings as others do involves us not only observing what they do, but learning how to use all our senses and to participate in their worlds, on the terms of their embodied knowledge” (Pink 2009: 72). In that sense, embodied sensory participation is in itself a very useful methodological tool researchers should use at least in some settings in order to gain a more thorough understanding of the worlds they are studying. Since “we are in the world through our body”, and “we perceive the world with our body” (Merleau-Ponty 2005:184), a direct consequence of this phenomenological postulate is that embodiment is paramount to any scientific endeavor, and sensuous involvement is a must in most anthropological studies.

The embodied knowledge gained during martial arts practice is “often not transmitted into semiotic code” (Samudra 2008: 666), one of the reasons why anthropologists studying kinesthetic culture are often faced with significant methodological concerns. Drawing on Geertz’s thick description, anthropologist Jaida Samudra, who studied the martial art of White Crane Silat calls for a thick participation (Samudra 2008) and indicates a few ways of writing about the experience and translating procedural knowledge into words. Going against Bourdieu’s notion of habitus, she notes that body experiences that are not put into words are not necessarily unconscious, a fact every practitioner of martial arts can sense.

The distinction between conscious and unconscious in anthropology is an extremely sensitive topic, especially in relation to kinesthetic cultures, and it should make the topic of a different article that would draw extensively on works

³ Response to acute pain is codified in the sport of Brazilian jiu-jitsu, where what can be described as a natural reaction is replaced with sensori-motor strategies considered more adequate in the sporting context, such as tapping out. In case of a submission or of a similar situation in which one of the fighters threatens to seriously harm or injure the other, his opponent can signal his distress by a tapping out motion, in which he either taps the mat or the fighter initiating the painful technique. If, however, the hands are immobilized, there is also the possibility of saying or yelling stop. The tapping out is, especially during training, quick and discrete and difficult to see for an outside observer, who could have difficulties understanding what happened without serious knowledge of the sport.

from the cognitive sciences. A significant amount of what constitutes our sensori-motor conducts belongs indeed with the cognitive unconscious, and

“we cannot become conscious of the billions of waves of cortical impulse directing the contractions, release and discharge of thousands of nerves and muscles when we are on the move. Similarly, we do not have any adequate notion of all the feelings bombarding our senses, nor of the release of various hormones impacting on our mood, attention, stress and so on. All this escapes our consciousness and verbal expression” (Warnier 2011: 372).

Nevertheless, the thick participation as a methodological strategy allows the anthropologist to gain at least some understanding of the ways in which our sensori-motor conducts emerge and are shaped, and thus to reflect upon them and verbalize this mostly procedural knowledge. This applies even more when the researcher has the opportunity to actively take part to the enskillment process (Pollard 2010) from the master’s perspective as well as from the apprentice’s, some of the only stages during which the verbalization becomes possible (Breivik 2008).

During the years spent as a member of the gym, I have attended most of the training sessions, as well as various sporting events, competitions, seminars and informal meetings with the members of the club. My body has changed, my hands and feet have grown calluses and my skin has endured numerous scratches and bruises. I have been myself injured and in pain more than once, and I bear the marks of some of these injuries. During the second and the third year, I have also helped as an assistant instructor in the gym, a position that has enabled me to experience the practice from another angle and to gain more insight into the ways in which the curriculum of Brazilian jiu-jitsu is taught and transmitted. This is one of the reasons why autophenomenography data is paramount to my inquiry of the world of pain and combat sports. As I have been both teacher and student, my experience has allowed me to witness not only the ways in which specific knowledge about the body and various types of pain is transmitted and taught, but also the ways in which it is understood, experienced and embodied, leading to what might be called a shared experience of pain.

Therefore, the article relies mainly on findings from participant observation, materialized in field notes, as well as on interviews and informal discussions with various combat sports practitioners, trainers and aficionados and on an extensive documentary study, involving various forums, social networking sites and instructional videos.

BODY, PAIN AND THE WORLD

Debates about the body have previously revolved around sets of dichotomies such as mind/body and nature/culture (Turner 2008), that some of the more recent research about embodiment, not only in anthropology but also in philosophy and the cognitive sciences (Gallagher 2005; Woodruff-Smith 2005; Gallagher, Zahavi

2009) are trying to resolve in favor of a more integrated approach. In the nature/culture debates, for instance, social sciences tend to give more importance to the cultural aspect of the body, pointing out, truthfully, the important influence that society has on our mode of being in the world and, more precisely, on the specific use we make of our body.

Starting with the revealing article of Marcel Mauss (1934), it has indeed been researched and proved that what the French author called the techniques of the body varies among different groups. There are different ways of doing even the simplest things and these are not only shaped by society but also by the material culture upon which our sensori-motor conducts (Warnier 2007) are propped on. These specific ways of doing, in turn, usually give birth to different ways of sensing (Desjarlais 2003).

Pain is no alien from these cultural variances (Zborowski 1952; Le Breton 2006, 2010), and the most widely known and relevant example concerning its cultural component is the one involving soldiers. At times of war, it has thus been noticed that some of the soldiers can exhibit a great tolerance to pain, even though back home they were just regular people with average pain thresholds. Different people or groups of people experience pain in different ways, but one of the things that is usually seen to unite their experiences is the incapacity of language to express their suffering (Scarry 1984, DelVecchio Good et al. 1994). In cases of injury and illness, medical science has managed to create a tool for assessing and comparing physical pain, but it hasn't been able, so far, to find a similar one for suffering (Frank 2001). Pain can thus be measured to some degree, mostly in its physical dimension, but it is difficult to communicate and understand. This means that its experience, the suffering, remains out of reach, and has mostly been analyzed in the social sciences through the narratives of those in pain (Frank 1995), an effort that tried to reconstitute their experiences, their local worlds (Kleinman 1994) and their dynamics.

The fact is, though, that not all pain involves suffering. Some of it can be understood and experienced as positive, world building instead of world destroying, and it can also be shared. This particular type of pain isn't accidental, but experimental. It is pursued and embraced, reframed (Goffman 1974) and, most of all, controlled. I will hence focus, in what follows, on the practice of the modern combat sport of Brazilian jiu-jitsu, in order to identify the role of pain in the sport and the ways in which it is constructed and serves as a common experience for practitioners worldwide.

An important role will be granted to the specific manner in which Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu knowledge has penetrated Romania and to the development of the sport in the world, with the purpose of showing how a particular practice, disseminated through media channels and transnational networks can create worldwide communities with similar experiences of pain, communities of practitioners that share a specific set of techniques that also gave birth to what I have called a shared experience of pain.

BRAZILIAN JIU-JITSU, MASS MEDIA AND DISSEMINATION⁴

Brazilian jiu-jitsu is a martial art that has been created during the first half of the last century in Brazil, by a family of Scottish immigrants, the Gracies. They have made the style popular in Brazil, or so the urban legend goes, by contesting other established combat sports and provoking their practitioners to fight in no-holds-barred events, with little to no rules, in order to determine the supremacy of their respective sports. In the beginning, they did this by placing a local ad in the newspaper, offering a significant reward to whoever was able to defeat the Gracie representative in such a duel. In time, the popularity of the Gracies and the combat sport that practiced became famous in Brazil, but they had to wait until the mid-90's in order for Brazilian jiu-jitsu to achieve worldwide recognition.

In 1994, a few of the Gracie family members that moved on the territory of the United States co-organized what is considered today the first televised mixed-martial-arts event in the country, the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC), that has later developed into a million dollar business with worldwide audience. The first event featured a few fighters, all from different fighting backgrounds, competing for the title of Ultimate Champion and a money prize. The marketed scope of the competition was to find the best and most realistic combat sport or martial art in the world in a confrontation with no rules. But even though it was promoted as a no-rule event, there were a few rules, such as no eye-gouging, fish-hooking or biting, but almost insignificant compared to any other sport to date, reminiscent of the Pankration events in ancient Greece.

The first winner of the UFC was one of the youngest Gracies, Royce, who entered the cage wearing the jiu-jitsu uniform, a kimono, and won the fights against sometimes much bigger and stronger opponents by taking the fight to the ground and submitting them with chokes or joint-locks and almost without using strikes. The event was a success, but its brutality created a huge media controversy that resulted in the ban of the competition, that later resurfaced in another state with more rules added and a sporting format concerned with the safety of the competitors. After the victories of Royce Gracie in the UFC, similar events began to develop throughout the world, most notably in Japan, and representatives of the Gracie family gained more recognition and spread their fighting style throughout the world, with most of its members travelling from country to country, giving seminars and promoting practitioners all around the world.

Today, there is an International Brazilian jiu-jitsu Federation with rules and regulations, but most of the notable practitioners revolve around some important clubs, spread around the world and affiliated in different ways with the Gracie family (either by having a member of the family as its head instructor or by having

⁴ Most of the information in this section is derived from Jonathan Snowden's book on the emergence of Mixed Martial Arts (Snowden 2008), but also on Sam Sheridan's work (Sheridan 2007) as well as on an extensive internet research and, for the second part, discussions with local fighters and trainers.

a head instructor trained by one of the Gracies), gathered around world champions and respected practitioners of the “gentle art”, another name for jiu-jitsu.

In Romania, most of the actual practitioners learned about Brazilian jiu-jitsu through internet and the videos from the first UFC events. Seeing Royce Gracie defeat bigger and stronger opponents made them interested in this seemingly new fighting style but, as there weren't any clubs in the country, Internet and instructional videos available online became the principal source of knowledge. This is how the first club began, with a few aficionados getting together and trying techniques seen on video. Some of them also traveled abroad, went to foreign jiu-jitsu gyms and seminars and got promoted, thus acquiring some legitimacy that enabled them to open their own gym and attract more practitioners. Nevertheless, in order for the local jiu-jitsu community to grow and the fighters to get promoted and get higher rank belts, an instructor with a black belt, allowed to make promotions, was required. This is the main reason why the local clubs needed to affiliate to a larger, international organization, preferably related to the Gracie family.

The affiliation is in theory simple. It usually requires the local club to pay a certain fee and to host a seminar a few times a year in which the head instructor of the big organization travels to the country, assesses the level of the fighters, promotes both the instructor and the students and teaches them a few techniques. In the meantime, it can also necessitate the local club to adhere to a certain set of rules, sometimes even to a specific way of teaching or fighting.

Besides the annual visits of the head instructor, techniques usually enter the club curriculum via internet and the various instructional videos available either on or offline, as well as by viewing international competitions and world champions evolve. When they are transmitted, these techniques not only come with the biomechanics necessary to be achieved, as their teaching also involves knowledge concerning the areas of the body that are targeted, the type of damage that can be inflicted and sometimes even the type of pain that indicates the successful performing of the technique.

THE ROLE OF PAIN IN THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF BRAZILIAN JIU-JITSU

In a combat sport such as Brazilian jiu-jitsu, pain is crucial, as all of the sports' techniques are, after all, bodily destruction techniques that aim to render an enemy incapable of pursuing confrontation through various means. Nevertheless, the logic of the sport revolves around a contradiction that Loic Wacquant noticed in the case of boxing and that applies indeed to all “worldly proving of masculinity”: “the demand that fighters erode, nay ruin, that which it teaches them to value above all else to the point of sacralization: the violent male body, their own and that of their likenesses” (Wacquant 1995: 522).

What that means is that, in sports in general (Messner 1990; Young, McTeer and White 1994) and especially in combat sports, the violent body is, *tour a tour*,

both weapon and target. In order for him to learn and understand the destructive techniques of the sport and the modalities in which he can counter and escape them, he must become their target and absorb their painful knowledge.

Pain has several paramount functions in the skill learning process that occurs during Brazilian jiu-jitsu classes. First and foremost, it signals the success or failure of a certain technique. All of the different joint locks and choke holds of Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu produce different types of pain in different parts of the body. Unlike chronic pain or pain caused by illness, this particular type has the capacity to be expressed and its expression, both through spoken and body language is central.

One of the best examples available, also signaled by Robert Downey in his work on mixed martial arts and pain producing techniques (Downey 2007), concerns chokes and strangle-holds. These are usually techniques aimed at making the opponent unconscious by restricting the flow of oxygen into the brain. The more technical procedure for doing this in Brazilian jiu-jitsu is performed by compressing the arteries and veins in the neck area, thus reducing the blood flow to the brain and causing a loss of consciousness.

Nevertheless, with a non-cooperating opponent, the techniques are never perfect and sometimes target other areas of the body. A chokehold can thus compress the trachea instead of the arteries, or put pressure on the back of the head on the cervical vertebrae. While all of these three variations in the performing of the technique can lead to serious health consequences and even to death, the less damaging and the most correct way of doing this in Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu is the first one, the compressing of the arteries.

In this particular case, if too much pressure is applied the opponent loses consciousness but brain damage only occurs if the pressure is maintained for more than a few dozens of seconds, something unlikely to go unnoticed by the training partner or the referee, if it happens in a competition. If the chokehold presses the trachea, instead, too much pressure can lead to its rupture and requires urgent medical intervention. The same thing applies to techniques that affect the cervical vertebrae and that are usually banned from competition.

While in theory these three effects of a chokehold attempt seem very different, in practice they are difficult to distinguish by the fighter initiating them and the most reliable way of learning how to perform an arterial choke instead of another type is through pain. For this to happen, communication between the two partners is extremely important, as the defendant has to learn the different feelings and types of pain associated with each type of chokehold in order to preserve his health, to respond with an adequate technique and to correct his partner's technique.

During training, the fighter applying the technique constantly demands visual, tactile and spoken feedback from his partner in order to adjust his technique and perform it the right way. Depending on his partner's response to his actions, he will begin to associate a set of bodily moves and feelings with a certain pain response from his partner's body that will indicate that he is doing the right thing. His partner, on the other hand, will learn what the technique feels like and the type

of pain it causes, along with its potential damaging effects and indicators of its correctness. It is only by learning how to differentiate among subtly different pains endured that he will be able to give an adequate response to the techniques that cause them and to help his partner understand the mechanics and “symptoms” of the correct technique.

When the defendant feels he will get choked, he needs to tap out in order to signal that the technique has been well performed. If he doesn't, it means there is something wrong either with the movement or with the position of the hands. As one progresses in the art of Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, he will learn to associate different small reactions of his opponents as indicators of the correctness of the technique. In the case of the baseball bat choke, for instance, if the pressure is on the trachea, the breathing changes and small cues that indicate the choke occurs can be identified. If the pressure is on the arteries, the choke is much quicker and more efficient and there is rarely any sound associated with it. Instead, the face of the fighter being choked can turn red, begin to swell and his body starts losing strength and consciousness. Either way, when a technique hurts and there is serious pain involved, a trained individual will usually begin the tapping out motion, something that another trained eye can rapidly see, feel and identify as a sign that the technique is working.

On his side, the defendant gains in time knowledge that enables him to understand the different painful signs that his body sends while being under pressure, signs that will dictate his future behavior. If he gets caught in a baseball bat choke⁵ that doesn't feel very dangerous, for instance, he will sense it and try to escape. But if he turns and tries to escape the wrong way, he will choke himself. As soon as he feels the pressure, he will decode it as danger and will thus turn the other way, having associated that particular pain with successful choking. If he can't escape it, however, and the choke is successful, he might still not consider it as a serious danger, compared to other submissions that attack the limbs.

A choke makes you sleep, but then you come back. When it's the hand, or the foot, God forbid, if a joint breaks, you will need a lot of recovery time, you know? A choke is different, there's no real danger, and you wake up afterwards. (Fabian)

Thus, pain also has another important function, as it defines the (physical) limits of the individual, (Dincovici 2009, Green 2011). In Brazilian jiu-jitsu it is therefore pain that signals the end of the range of motion of the limbs and the same pain that, if resisted to, will bring alongside an injury and serious bodily harm. It is also pain, but another type, that enables the fighter to resist a potentially harmful chokehold and escape if he identifies it as harmless. Pain defines the bodily universe of the practitioners but it also constitutes a sort of shared experience.

It is in this sense that I have mentioned the existence of an almost universal and shared experience of pain present in this particular combat sport. Because new

⁵ A type of choke usually performed with the kimono. The name derives from the position of the hands during the choke, which resembles the position needed to grab a baseball bat.

techniques are travelling worldwide via internet and their learning takes place in a similar way, through experimenting different pains and their relationship to different bodily movements and techniques, this specific type of controlled pain present in the sport becomes shared by practitioners throughout the world.

When I see someone getting choked in a competition on television, for instance, or when I read on a forum about someone's painful experience in the gym, I can not only identify with him, but I also understand his experience, as a portion of our respective lived worlds is very much similar. Our sensuous experiences within the Brazilian jiu-jitsu gyms are almost the same and it is our almost common pain that enables us to communicate and share these experiences.

PAIN COMMUNITIES AND SHARED EXPERIENCES OF PAIN

Throughout my research on pain and combat sports (Dincovici 2009; 2010), I have found that fighters are all able to distinguish between different, very specific types of pain that they usually associate with specific techniques, a finding that coincides with research from other sports (Tarr and Thomas 2011). For a professional working in the medical field, their pains can be just as impossible to understand as chronic pain, as my own experiences with injury and my fieldwork have confirmed, but for another fighter it is a shared experience to which he can relate.

Before introducing the ethnographic description of pain in Brazilian jiu-jitsu, a few clarifications should be made. The first one concerns the situating of injury as a distinct category (Dincovici 2010) that is more (or sometimes less) than just pain and involves a (dys)functional consequence (Howe 2004, Spencer 2012), requiring the individual to stop or change either their sport related activities or even their everyday life (Young, McTeer, White 1994).

The second clarification concerns the distinction between positive and negative pain, one that follows the same functional logic than the previous distinction between pain and injury. The pain that I name positive is a controlled and temporary one (Green 2011), since the practice of the (combat) sport can stop at any time, with almost no painful consequences except those caused by injuries. It is also meaningful (Tyson Smith 2008) and a part of the culture of risk that surrounds sports (Nixon 1992, 1996; Albert 1999; Theberge 1997, 2007) and it affects individuals regardless of gender (Nixon 1996; Theberge 1997; Young and White 1995; Malcom 2006) or sexuality (Filiault, Drummond and Agnew 2012), often resulting in behaviors tagged as positive deviance (Ewald and Jobu 1985) or overconformity to the sport ethic (Hughes and Coakley 1991).

While the negative health consequences associated with extensive sports practice are no novelty for the social sciences, both in elite and non-elite athletes (Howe 2003; Waddington, Loland and Skirstad 2006; Roderick, Waddington and Parker 2000; Nixon 1992; Messner 1990), pain isn't necessarily comprised among these. The positive pain that I identify is partially similar to what has been called elsewhere *zatopekan pain* (Howe 2003: 149; Pickard 2007: 44), with little of the

negative consequences usually associated with pain and sport. Nevertheless, positive pain can be more than zatopekian pain in Brazilian jiu jitsu, due to the existence of other specific and acute types of pain with significant functions in the enskillment process.

Muscle soreness, I let it go and, honestly, I enjoy it. I like feeling my muscles sore, even though that rarely happens and when it does, it only affects a few muscles, like when you try to stretch, like that. I only feel it in my chest muscles, and around. (Filip)
 No, the kind of pain I feel is easy to stand, it is pleasant, you know, when I wake up in the morning and I feel my whole body, or just a part of it... (Marius)
 It's not really pain, it's a feeling of...numbness. (Cornel)
 What it actually does is that it shoes you that you are alive, that you live, eat, have some specific needs, that you have the courage (...) to do something. (Laurentiu)

Pain can arise from a myriad of situations during Brazilian jiu-jitsu training, but for the sake of the argumentation these can be grouped in a few significant categories, that produce similar types of pain. Therefore, pain can result from either the specific type of effort involved in jiu-jitsu, from various positions in which the body is forced during training, from submission techniques or from injuries. Pain resulting from submission techniques can also be further divided into categories, following the areas of the human body targeted by the techniques of the martial art, an aspect that I will be considered in the following paragraphs.

I usually tap out if I get caught in a biceps crush because I'm scared my forearm will break. But I don't feel the same about leg crushes... I know my, I've begun to know my body well enough and I know what type of pain should worry me and what type of pain I can bear, I can defeat... (Michael)

Brazilian jiu-jitsu training is very demanding for a human body, as it requires a specific type of effort that is seldom encountered during everyday activities. Most of the time is spent on the ground, wrestling with an opponent and having to deal with his weight on top of you for long periods of time. The specific holds and positions of the sport can make a beginner tired in less than one minute, if he doesn't know how to take advantage of a position or when to rest and when to use strength. Strength, on the other hand, is rarely explosive, unlike in some striking sports such as boxing. Punches are not thrown, but bodies need to be controlled, and for this the muscles and the body of the practitioner need to be able to exert a constant pressure for a long period of time, without getting tired. The body mechanics require one to use his whole body when applying a hold, instead of just the limbs, and this emphasizes the core muscles a lot, as well as, similar to wrestling, neck muscles. Thus, training sessions can end with a significant amount of muscle soreness that affects specific areas of the body, required by the practice of the sport.

Because it is mainly a ground fighting style, Brazilian jiu-jitsu has a significant amount of positions to which our bodies aren't normally accustomed. Some of these can be extremely painful or at least uncomfortable, and some could even be described as claustrophobic. As one long time practitioner told me during

an interview, for the first couple of months he would get into positions his body just couldn't tolerate. The weight of an opponent on top of him, putting pressure on his body and squeezing him, bringing his knees to his head and laying there, was simply unbearable, making him throw up regularly during practice. In time, the body adjusts, its flexibility gets better and these positions get more comfortable. But they never become pleasant, and pain can begin again, the minute a more experienced opponent starts exerting pressure the right way.

Submission techniques are the most significant pain producing element in the sport. And while I have already discussed the different types of chokes and the damage they can produce, there are many other locks and holds that give birth to a whole different array of pains. A significant distinction, here, is between techniques targeting the legs and feet and techniques targeting the arms. Techniques targeting the arms, whether they attack the wrist, elbow or shoulder joints, induce pain immediately, before any injury can happen. Techniques targeting the legs and feet, on the other hand, can be painless at first, pain occurring at the same time as an injury. This is an aspect emphasized by the instructor during training, as he recommends the students to avoid putting too much pressure on the knee and ankle joints and to let go even if the sparring partner does not tap to indicate a submission, in order to avoid injuring their gym mates.

The absence of pain can be misleading here, and I have myself been injured three times because I didn't feel any pain in the joints until it was too late. It happened twice during an ankle lock and one time during a technique that attacked the knee joint. I felt the opponent securing the lock, but, because I didn't feel any serious pain, I thought I could get out of it. And I didn't. I knew something was wrong on the spot, not because of the pain, but because of the sound my ankle and knee joints made during the technique. The pain only came afterwards, and signaled injuries.

Speaking of injuries, there are cases in which regular doctors are unable to offer suitable solutions to some minor injuries due to their lack of understanding of the sport and of the specific body techniques that cause these injuries and in which other, more experienced practitioners, can offer precious advice. The usual injuries are also part of the regular experience of pain, and there are some minor ones, such as the famous cauliflower ears from wrestling, that almost everybody experienced at least once. If you go to a martial arts forum, and this is a common practice among young fighters, the medical section is usually filled with injury experiences and advice. By being able to associate a specific pain with a specific area of the body and with a technique, the fighter can sometimes even identify and name his specific injury and treat it accordingly without seeking the help of a professional.

While this is more the exception than the rule, codified techniques and movements, in the sport, usually cause corresponding pains and injuries. These pains are communicable and practitioners can share them just as they share the curriculum of techniques which provoke them. In order to understand what affects a fellow practitioner's body, one only needs to ask what caused it, and he can

recreate the situation in his mind, from experience, and identify exactly what and how happened. Some can even remember the feel of a similar old injury that affected themselves before, and thus become a sort of pain buddies through their shared bodily experience.

I know that if a guy punches another guy, it will hurt. But I know that pain. And the pain, I know it very well, and I don't consider it to be violence. Do you understand? I don't perceive it... I don't know, when you witness a fight, you probably put yourself in the place of one of the guys; or in both their places. But if somebody beats me up, I don't consider it to be violence. Or if I beat someone up. (Fabian).

Language only serves as a means to indicate a general sensori-motor conduct that caused pain. It doesn't actually have the ability to describe the specific type of pain or its meaning. Sometimes, the name itself cannot be enough to understand the move, but for someone who has embodied the logic of the sport, or at least that has a deep experiential understanding of it, the same name makes it easy to imagine or to recreate the technique in order to understand it. Language is just a means to translate a movement or sequence of movements that lead to a specific experience. However, since the technique and movements can be reproduced, so does the experience. After all, all bodies are practically the same from the experiential point of view of the Brazilian jiu-jitsu practitioner.

When you touch another human being, like yourself, with the same functions or almost the same... We're not really the same, but somehow you know it is anatomically the same as you. The bones are kept together in the same way, the head is placed somehow similarly. His flexibility is almost the same or just a little different. Let's say he can reach a little higher. Let's say there are only three degrees of flexibility in his joints. Same goes with his legs. You can't be more flexible than this. And even if you can extend your hand a little more, almost all of the human beings have the same joints. Judging by this observation, when you grab someone, when your hand touches him, you feel his texture, you feel the way his segments are arranged, you see the way it reacts, and you see the way his psyche reacts in some situations. There are cases in which every man reacts in the same way if he hasn't been trained in a different way. (Ovidiu)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Brazilian jiu-jitsu is a practice embraced by thousands of people in the world. Knowledge of the gentle art is disseminated through various media and individuals and quickly spreads throughout the world, resulting in similar ways of teaching, learning and experiencing very similar techniques.

Pain is central to such an endeavor as these techniques are mainly pain provoking and seek the destruction of the opponent's body through various means. It is a special type of pain, controlled, which not only helps during the learning phase but also shapes the experience of the sport and gives certain tangible limits to the existence of the practitioner.

In a way, when speaking about combat sports and controlled pain it would be more accurate to consider not one pain, but different, specific pains with different meanings related to different techniques and situations. The novice has to cope with the discomfort they cause, until he begins to understand them and situate them and their meaning in the larger frame of Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, while the experienced grappler embraces them and navigates with their aid in the corporeal territory of the sport, avoiding injury and seeking the physical submission of his opponents. A profoundly haptic experience, Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu gives birth to a refined experience of pain that only those who have practiced it understand and share, even though some of them have never met each other.

As opposed to chronic pain and pain resulting from illness, the focus of most of the medical anthropology studies, this particular type of pain, controlled, is not world destroying. Instead, it is world defining and world building. It is a meaningful pain that sets certain tangible limits for the existence of the practitioners, instead of just being an invasive alien pain with no meaning that destroys the previous limits of their local worlds. It is also a shared pain, of which the experience can be communicated among different fighters, helping them shape their practice and adjust their techniques.

This pain modifies sensory bodily awareness (Montero 2010) and in the long term “establishes, and allows, an intimacy between participants, central to formation of community” (Green 2011: 378). There is indeed some sort of intimacy in sports that involve extreme physical contact, just as Green witnessed in his study of mixed martial arts, and that can also be found in professional wrestling (Tyson Smith 2008) or boxing (Wacquant 2005), where it leads to the creating of “carnal connections”.

These carnal connections are what made me consider the practitioners of this “gentle art” as pain communities. The term has already been employed without really being theorized in triathlon (Atkinson 2008), but some of the observations Atkinson made can be transferred to combat sports and the concept needs further clarification. If we look at sports as a kinesthetic culture based on a specific process of enskillment, we can see that it deeply modifies the bodies of the practitioners, starting with their body awareness (Bermudez 2005; Dincovici forthcoming 2012), as well as their relationships to the environment (Ingold 2000) and to material culture (Warnier 2007, 2011). Sport can almost become a total institution (Goffman 1961), attribute that is best seen in the case of professional fighters, whose lives can be completely regulated by the practice.

At least in the West, where the topic of pain and sports has been thoroughly researched, the work mentioned above has found few differences in the way pain is felt and dealt with (Young, McTeer and White 1994) across sports, sometimes even irrespective of gender and other seemingly significant attributes. There are, of course, differences of degree, partially determined by biological characteristics, but very few differences in nature. Since pain can be codified and categorized, depending on the specific techniques and situations that cause it, it is only natural

to assume that a similar body technique will produce a similar pain. Of course, some can resist it better than others and some can deal with it differently (outside the sport) across cultures (Zborowski 1952; Morse and Morse 1988). But since the whole enskillment process that fundaments these different types of pain are almost identical across cultures, one would expect it to provoke not only similar biological consequences but also similar lived sensations.

The concept of local biologies (Lock 1995; Lock and Nguyen 2010) can be of use here, as it highlights the intertwining of biology and culture. In the case of Brazilian jiu-jitsu, for instance, the biological is (almost) the same, since all of the bodies involved are human bodies, with similar body mechanics, functioning and similar shape and configuration. A great part of the cultural is, again, the same and manifests itself during the process of enskillment that can have a greater or lesser importance depending on the individuals and the role sports training play in their lives. We would thus expect to find similarities even in the subjective experience of pain for all these individuals, regardless of their cultural background.

While not denying the differences that can arise in the cultural construction of pain, this paper proposes a shifting of attention toward the similarities that have been somewhat neglected in previous research on the topic. Considering the existence of communities of pain and their shared aspect of pain can thus become very useful for researchers, enabling them to look at cross cultural similarities, especially when combined with a phenomenological perspective that tries to gain insight at the level of embodiment.

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PRINCIPES D'HOSPITALITÉ DANS LA LITTÉRATURE GRECO-ROMAINE

MARIA-LUIZA DUMITRU OANCEA¹

The article tackles the mechanism and the laws of hospitality in the Greek-Roman world. For the Greeks, the institution of hospitality (*xeinosyne*) was based on the multi-semantic concept of *xenos* ("hospitality pact", "foreign", "unknown", "guest"). For the Romans, *hostis* initially presumed solely compensation, equalization and reciprocity and no significance violence. Later, the meaning closes to the ambivalent semantic of the Greek *xenos*. The pattern of all acts of hospitality suggests that the hospitality is basically a transaction based relation with several elements: the Supplier = the Instrument = the Guest (*xenos*, *hostis*, *hospes*); the Recipient = the Supreme Instance = the Host (*xenodokos*, *hospes*); the Beneficiary = the Supplier and the Recipient together; the Benefit = obtaining mutual advantages. The hospitality law represent an axiomatic customary law respected by gods and humans.

Key words: hospitality, Greek-Roman world and literature.

INTRODUCTION

Les croyances religieuses dans l'antiquité grecque étaient fondées sur trois principes essentiels: l'adoration des dieux, le respect des parents et l'obligeance envers les visiteurs. Dans ce qui suit, nous nous proposons d'analyser les principes qui soutiennent **les lois et les rituels de l'hospitalité** surtout à l'intérieur de l'espace grec, mais aussi de l'espace romain. Notre point de départ sera l'analyse des rôles empruntés par les protagonistes de la relation d'hospitalité, à savoir l'hôte et le visiteur (l'invité) dans des textes appartenant aux littératures grecque et latine.

L'hospitalité est une **institution sociale** fondamentale du monde grec, tout comme l'ecclésiologie et le rituel sacrificiel (le banquet²). L'institution de l'hospitalité (*xeinosyne*) est fondée sur le concept pluri-sémantique du „pacte d'hospitalité”, *xe(i)nos* mais aussi de l'étranger et de l'inconnu, parfois également de l'invité et de l'hôte – voilà une confusion significative de l'ambivalence des rapports avec les étrangers dans le monde grec archaïque. Ph. Gauthier³ remarque que *xe(i)nos*

¹ Université de Bucarest, marilu_dumitru@yahoo.com.

² Cf. Athanasios (1993), 45, 108–116.

³ Gauthier (1973) IV, 1–21.

opposait deux catégories sociales distinctes: il y avait ceux qui se trouvaient à l'intérieur d'une communauté et ceux qui se trouvaient en dehors. Plusieurs types de relations sociales étaient possibles à l'intérieur de la communauté: l'hospitalité, l'amitié, les relations commerciales ou conflictuelles etc.

Dans l'*Odysée* homérique, la distinction entre les gens et les créatures mythiques était très nette, justement parce que le monde des mythes ne connaissait pas la pratique de l'hospitalité⁴. On pourrait considérer que ce qu'on appelle *xenia* – des „liens ou droits réciproques à l'hospitalité” formait l'objet de cette institution⁵. La relation humaine concernée est la *philia xenike* ou „l'amitié entre l'hôte et l'invité”. Elle suggère que ceux qui partagent le pain et le sel et qui dorment sous le même toit sont unis par un lien solide et durable d'égalité et de réciprocité, à caractère religieux, selon des coutumes transmises de génération en génération e.g., le syntagme *xenos patroios*, „l'invité du père” qui désigne celui dont le père est lié par des relations d'hospitalité, se retrouve tant dans l'*Illiade* (VI, 119–125) que dans l'*Odysée* (I, 175, 187, 209; VII, 522, etc.). Schein Seth identifie trois types de *philia*, correspondant à trois types de relations affectives: hôte-invité, parent-enfant, époux-épouse. Chaque relation est fondée sur le principe d'amitié, d'obligation mutuelle et de solidarité, évidemment nuancé selon le type de relation dont on parle⁶. Ainsi Schein Seth pense-t-il que, dans la Grèce classique, *philia* désignait une relation ou une attitude de solidarité ou d'affection entre les membres d'une certaine famille, communauté ou caste sociale i.e. au sein d'une certaine profession, partenariat ou occupation. Cette relation excluait les gens en dehors de ces groupes (les *allotrioi*) et les ennemis (les *echthroi*). Sauf chez Théognis (v. 306, 600, 1102), *Philia* n'est pas mentionné dans la littérature grecque archaïque e.g. chez Homer. Ce n'est qu'à partir de la deuxième moitié du V^e siècle que le terme va établir un contraste avec *philotes*, qui désignait les relations de parenté ou d'amitié usuelles. Les protagonistes de cette relation étaient des *philoï*. Schein Seth pense que le passage de *philotes* à *philia* retrace le développement même de la Grèce, c'est-à-dire de ses valeurs traditionnelles sociales et culturelles. Taillardat associe *Philia* à *pistis* (**bonne foi**) et à *charis* (**reconnaissance**) – ce qui suggère une sorte de réciprocité, et même à *aidos* (**pudeur, respect**). D'après Schein Seth, *philotes* chez Homer est propre non seulement aux relations d'hospitalité, mais de pacte en général (social, militaire etc.). L'hospitalité *xeni*, tout comme l'amitié *philia/philotes* qui en découle, était plus qu'un terme exprimant l'affection; il représentait une formule technique qui se retrouvait à la base des relations concrètes et formelles comme le mariage générateur de droits et d'obligations.

⁴ Cf. Scheid-Tissinier (1990) XI, 7–31.

⁵ Gould („Hiketeia?”, JHS 93, 1993) voit une analogie avec les relations de parenté dans la cérémonie de *xenia* (demande d'hébergement), aussi bien qu'à la cérémonie de *hiketeia* (*prière, supplication*): les *xenoi* (les invités) et les *hiketai* (les suppliants) sont des parents spirituels plutôt que charnels ou des collatéraux. La relation est héréditaire et obligatoire (*inherited and binding*).

⁶ Seth (1988) III, 179–296 fait une analyse des trois types de *philia* à partir de la trame dramatique dans *Alceste* d'Euripide.

Quel est le **contenu des lois de l'hospitalité** ? Premièrement, l'étranger – *xenos* – qui demandait hospitalité se trouvait sous la protection des dieux, notamment de Zeus *Xenios* et d'Athéna *Xenia*. Deuxièmement, tout refus de répondre à cette demande – chasser l'étranger, par exemple, constituait une grave offense à l'égard des divinités, attirant leur vengeance. Après l'époque homérique, *xenos* devient „l'étranger” tout court, sans acquérir, pourtant, le sens d'„ennemi” – comme il s'est passé avec le latin *hostis*, dont on parlera plus tard.

Il existe tout un rituel pour **demander hospitalité** (Soph. *O. R.*, Eur. *Suppl.*, etc.). Le suppliant tenait à la main une branche d'olivier enveloppée dans des fils de laine et touchait avec sa main le genou et le menton de la personne à laquelle il adressait la demande. L'hôte *xenodochos* ou *xenodokos* – „celui qui recevait des étrangers”, de *xenos* „étranger” + *dechomai* „recevoir” accueillait son visiteur avec le salut *Chaire!* „La joie soit avec toi!”, „Que les dieux te gardent!”, „Soit béni!” et lui serrait la main. Ensuite, il mettait à la disposition du visiteur de l'eau pour se laver ou lui préparait un bain chaud. Après cela, il honorait son visiteur avec de différents plats *xeineia* (Il. IX, 73; XVIII, 408; *Od.* I, 120, 136 etc.). L'étranger, à son tour, exprimait ses vœux envers son hôte et toute sa famille, à laquelle il devait du respect (*Od.* VII, 146–150). Ensuite il y avait un échange de cadeaux *xeineia dora* (Il. VI, 218; *Od.* I, 313; VIII, 357 etc.). Ne pas respecter les lois imposées par Zeus *Xenios* attirait implacablement la malédiction sur l'amphitryon mal-accueillant (Hes. – *O.*, 327: „Heureux celui qui a [...] invité l'étranger en ami”).

Pour les Romains, le terme archaïque de *hostis* contient la même ambivalence que le grec *xenos*. Il désignait initialement „l'étranger”, fut-il ami ou ennemi. Il faut mentionner pourtant que le sens primaire de *hostis* ne faisait pas référence à l'idée de violence ou d'hostilité, mais à l'idée de compensation, d'égalité et de réciprocité. Par exemple, La loi des XII Tabules (*Lex XII Tabularum*) garde la signification d'„étranger” pour *hostis*. Chez Festus⁷, *hostis* désigne une personne qui se réjouit d'un droit égal avec une autre personne: *hostes* sont *pari iure cum populo Romano*, „égaux en droits avec le peuple romain”. Toujours chez Festus, le verbe *hostire* apparaît en tant que synonyme de *æquare* „ranger de façon similaire”, tandis que *redhostire* est un équivalent de l'expression *referre gratiam* „payer sa dette de reconnaissance en échange de quelque chose, être reconnaissant”. Plaute utilise lui aussi ce sens de *hostire* (*Asin.* 377): „répondre à son tour de la même façon”.

Saint Augustin⁸ parle de *Dea Hostilina* qui avait le pouvoir de faire pousser les blés à la même hauteur ou récompensait l'effort des agriculteurs par les produits de la récolte. Le terme *hostia* désignait l'offrande victimaire qui allait adoucir la colère des dieux. Il s'agissait donc d'une offrande de rachat, d'une offre apportée pour obtenir quelque chose d'autre. *Hostis* ne désignait donc pas l'„étranger” tout court (comme *peregrinus*), mais l'individu aux mêmes droits que les citoyens romains. Reprenant une idée de Benveniste, **Gauthier** montre que *hostis*, qui

⁷ Cf. É. Benveniste, *Vocabularul instituțiilor indo-europene*, pp. 73–74.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

désignait d'abord l'étranger en tant que partenaire protégé par la communauté romaine, acquiert le sens de **rival**, et plus tard celui d'**ennemi**. Par contre, *xe(i)nos* garde le sens d'**étranger** mais aussi d'**invité**⁹.

Ce type de reconnaissance des droits impliquait un rapport de **réciprocité** et même d'accord préalable. Si *hostis* arrive à désigner celui avec qui on est en relation de „compensation”, on peut penser, comme É. Benveniste, au fait que, chez les Romains, l'hospitalité était associée à la notion de potlach¹⁰, décrite de façon magistrale par Marcel Mauss („Le don, forme primitive d'échange”. *L'Année sociologique*, 1924), un système qu'on rencontre beaucoup chez les peuples indiens du nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Nord. Le potlach était un échange de dons dont le but était d'établir une bonne relation d'affaires. Cependant, l'échange avait une force contraignante, car les partenaires étaient amenés à offrir des cadeaux qui dépassassent toujours la valeur de ce qu'ils avaient reçu.

Pourtant, à l'époque historique, lorsqu'on passe des relations individuelles à la conscience civique, l'institution de l'hospitalité s'efface. À notre avis, cela pourrait s'expliquer par l'apparition de la *ciuitas*, la cité entourée et délimitée de murs solides (et non pas par *uallum*, qui ne faisait qu'esquisser ou donner une idée du mur à construire). On crée donc une mentalité fondée sur l'antinomie *intérieur* – *extérieur* de la cité. Ainsi, on voit l'institution de l'hospitalité graduellement disparaître et le symbole transféré vers l'objet symbolisé. C'est le moment où le terme „étranger” (*hostis*) acquiert le sens d'„adversaire” – plus précisément „adversaire sur le champ de bataille”, qui est d'ailleurs son dernier sens. Afin de désigner l'hospitalité, le latin crée, ultérieurement, un nouveau terme : *hospes*, *-itis* < * *hosti* *-pet/-pot* – *s* qui, en fait, marque la concrétisation de l'idée d'hospitalité (cf. Benveniste). Il ne s'agit pas du „maître du visiteur” interprété comme dérivé du radical IE *-pet/-pot-* (mis en rapport avec *potis*, *-e* „capable de, qui a le pouvoir de”). D'après Benveniste¹¹, le radical *-pet/-pot-* signifiait initialement l'identité de la personne ou bien l'identification d'une action avec son auteur. On rencontre des traces de ce sens dans l'adverbe latin *utpote* „exactement”, „précisément” ou dans la postposition *-pte* de *suopte* (Festus) „propre à soi-même”.

Tant les lois que le rituel de la demande d'hospitalité sont les mêmes chez les Grecs et chez les Romains. Steve Reece nous offre une analyse des lieux communs de l'hospitalité telle qu'elle est décrite dans l'Odyssée, en s'appuyant sur des études par Bernard Fenik et Mark Edwards. Il a réussi à identifier 225 éléments stéréotypes en 18 scènes. Selon Reece, il y en aurait deux catégories: des *scènes-messenger* (Arhena en Ithaque, Hermès-Calypso, l'ambassade envoyée chez Achille) et des *scènes de supplication ou de demande* (Odyseus-Phéaciens, Odyseus – Polyphème, Priam-Achille)¹². Son idée maîtresse a été de définir l'esthétique de la

⁹ Gauthier, *ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 75. Cf. Marcel Mauss, *Eseu despre dar*, trad. Silvia Lupescu, pp. 48–53.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 70–73.

¹² *Homeric Hospitality. The Stranger's Welcome: Oral Theory and the Aesthetics of the Homeric Hospitality*, Review by: A. F. Garvie, *The Classical Review*, New Series, Vol. 44, No. 2 (1994), pp. 258–259.

poésie orale dans ses propres termes, au niveau des formules lexicales aussi bien qu'au niveau des scènes-type dans les activités courantes et dans les grandes lignes du récit.

Nous proposons de distinguer, dans ce qui suit, quelques principes généraux des rituels d'hospitalité, que nous allons retracer dans des textes grecs, comme on l'a déjà fait, mais aussi dans la poésie latine. Il suffit d'analyser les rituels décrits par Homère dans l'*Odyssée* (I, 120–190, 301–320; VII, 228–250, 259–263, 267–277, 289–297 etc.) ou ceux décrits par Virgile dans *Æneis* (la rencontre de Dido avec les Troyens, I, 522–756, ou la rencontre du Grec Achéménides avec Æneas, III, 599–654.). Le plus souvent, l'étranger se trouve sous la protection de Jupiter *hospitalis* et parfois d'une autre divinité. En particulier, nous allons discuter ce qu'on appelle des **formules interrogatives de légitimation** utilisées par l'hôte, ainsi que les formules de légitimation utilisées par l'invité. Le schéma suivant est propre à tout geste d'hospitalité:

- 1) L'accueil par l'hôte (le maître de la maison) comportait une formule de salut – toujours la même chez les grecs mais variable chez les romains – et un geste chaleureux e.g. une poignée de main;
- 2) L'invitation au repas¹³ – *xenizein*, *epi xenia kalein*, *hestian*, *xenodokein* chez les grecs et *hospitium facere*, *hospitium iungere* chez les romains;
- 3) La succession des plats;
- 4) Les questions de légitimation que l'hôte posait au visiteur (à l'invité) en signe de respect, surtout à la fin du repas;
- 5) La légitimation verbale du visiteur i.e. *euchetaomai*, *euchomai einai* „je suis honoré d'être” (cf. *Od.* I, 172, 180 etc.) chez les grecs;
- 6) Des formes supplémentaires de légitimation ou d'épreuve des vertus du visiteur e.g. les jeux-compétition (*Od.* VIII, 228–250, 259–263, 267–277, 289–297);
- 7) L'échange de dons¹⁴ avant le repas ou à la fin du séjour du visiteur – parfois aussi l'échange d'objets de reconnaissance, tels que les célèbres *symbola* ou *tesserae hospitales*¹⁵.

¹³ **Le banquet sacrificiel** offert à l'invité qui demande hospitalité s'appelle *xenia* (*epi xenia* „inviter à un banquet sacrificiel ou à un repas sacrificiel” (cf. Spitzer, Philippe, *Hospitalité et invitation au Prytanée*, 1994, 37sq.), tandis que **deipnon**, dit Spitzer (1994), désigne le repas auquel on invite un voyageur de passage **sans aucune référence au sacrifice expiateur**. Le nom *xenia*, sans article, acquiert le sens de **morceaux de viande sacrée** offerts à un invité (Spitzer (1993), 599–606, à propos de l'*Iliade*, 11, 779).

¹⁴ **Magnien** [(1952) II, 39–49] parle des cadeaux hospitaliers dans l'*Odyssée* homérique, ainsi que des „cadeaux” que l'époux fait à son épouse, du dot apporté par la jeune épouse dans la maison de l'époux, ainsi que des banquets (de noces, par exemple), des liturgies ou des gestes de générosité en général.

¹⁵ La discussion et l'analyse de l'institution de l'hospitalité et du rôle joué par la clientèle de la société celtibère, a été introduite par J.M. Ramos Roscertales („Hospitium y clientela en le Espana celtica”, *Emerita* (1942) 308 sq.), est reprise par **Salinas de Frias** (1983) I, 21–41 dans son analyse des circonstances et des conséquences de la romanisation de la Péninsule Ibérique (195 a.C.-72 a.C.).

- 8) L'invité s'engageait dans une compétition avec les instruments employés par l'hôte (s.v. *Od.* VIII, v. 208).

L'hospitalité est donc fondée sur une relation de type transactionnel. Elle se définit comme un échange réciproque d'avantages matériels et spirituels, selon le schéma suivant:

- L'offrant = l'instrument = le visiteur (*xenos, hostis, hospes*);
- Le destinataire = l'instance suprême = l'hôte (*xenodochos, hospes*);
- Le bénéficiaire = l'offrant = le destinataire;
- Le bénéfice = les avantages réciproques.

Une différence entre les transactions qui suivent la volonté personnelle et la relation d'hospitalité est que celle-ci avait une valeur imposée; personne ne peut s'y soustraire. La loi de l'hospitalité est une **coutume axiomatique** respectée tant par les dieux que par les humains. La transgression entraîne des conséquences des plus graves. Si dans le cas du sacrifice rituel ou du jeu en général, le destinataire manifestait pleinement sa volonté personnelle, (il pouvait accepter ou non la proposition-défi de l'offrant), dans le cas de la relation d'hospitalité le destinataire était obligé d'accepter et se conformer à la proposition de l'Offrant. On pourrait dire que l'offrant incarnation la loi: il ne fait que rappeler au destinataire (par l'intermédiaire de sa demande) ses obligations non-négociables envers le visiteur. Ainsi l'offrant remplit-il **une fonction anamnétique** sur laquelle nous allons revenir plus tard.

La relation d'hospitalité est aussi fondée sur l'idée de compétition. L'offrant (le visiteur) adressait une demande ferme, évidente dans ses gestes: il saisit les genoux de l'hôte et lui touche le menton. Ce sont des gestes contraignants et fermes. Il est intéressant que l'offrant ne saisisse pas les bras ou autres parties du corps de son hôte, mais les genoux, qui relèvent du motif héroïque chez les Grecs. On dit à propos du dieu Thanatos, représenté souvent en guerrier sur le champ de bataille, qu'il coupait les tendons des genoux de sa victime. Elle sentait, avant de mourir, une sorte d'affaiblissement dans cette partie du corps, lui annonçant la mort imminente. Ainsi, pour les Grecs, le genou était **le siège de la volonté personnelle**,

Salinas de Frias remarque que les peuples indigènes étaient familiarisés avec les deux réalités sociales (l'hospitalité, qui était bien distincte de celle romaine et la clientèle), ainsi qu'avec une troisième pratique similaire au rituel romain de *devotio* (Cf. Ramos Loscertales, „La devotio iberica?”, AHDE, 1924, 7 sqq.) bien avant la conquête romaine. Salinas opine que Diodor (5,34) fait la première attestation des soit-disantes *tesserae hospitales* chez les peuples celtibères. Il s'agirait d'une hospitalité non-institutionnelle, de conventions civiles au sujet des croyances religieuses et de la coutume tribale. Ces relations d'hospitalité s'établissaient entre des tribus différentes ou au sein de la même tribu. La preuve que ces *tesserae hospitales* étaient antérieures à la conquête romaine est leur rédaction en alphabet ibérique ou dans la langue celtibère. Il y en avait aussi qui étaient écrites en latin aussi qu'en celtibère, où elles prennent une forme distincte de celle du *hospitium* romain. Salinas remarque que *hospitium* comporte des relations de dépendance propres au *clientélisme* (p. 28): les pactes d'hospitalité de la Penalba de Castro et du Peralejo de los Escuderos (*CIL II*, 5792) suggèrent même qu'il y aurait une certaine *hiérarchie* entre les protagonistes de la relation d'hospitalité.

du pouvoir virile, de la vigueur. Or, l'offrant serre le siège de la vigueur du corps, menaçant son hôte de le dévitaliser et donc de le tuer. D'autre côté, le geste de toucher le menton de l'hôte est aussi relevant, si l'on pense que cette partie faciale représente **l'image de la volonté personnelle**. Ce geste implique l'annulation de cette volonté. Ainsi, l'hospitalité ne se déroule pas d'après le principe du jeu, mais adopte l'aspect d'une loi implacable. Parfois, le défi prend des accents d'insulte ou de quasi-insulte (s.v. Euryale fait preuve d'impertinence en provoquant Odysseus au duel, *Od.*, VIII, vv. 159–164; contrastez cette provocation à la réponse d'Odysseus, *Od.*, VIII, vv. 205–208). „La demande” de l'offrant n'est plus une supplication, mais une demande sans équivoque, doublée d'une menace qu'on pouvait mettre en place si les lois étaient transgressées.

L'offrant provoque le destinataire dans la mesure où il lui rappelle ses obligations envers les visiteurs. Ainsi, l'offrant fonctionne comme un instrument de justice est peut-être le personnage central dans la relation d'hospitalité, surtout si l'on pense à l'épisode homérique de l'échange de cadeaux (des armes) entre Glaucos et Diomède (*Il.* VI, 232–236). Glaucos, à qui Zeus avait obscurci l'esprit, reçoit les armes de cuivre de Diomède, en échange de ses armes en or. Dans ce cas, on peut se demander dans quelle mesure l'hospitalité a lieu entre égaux, vu que l'offrant est le décideur et le destinataire, l'effecteur. Apparemment, la relation est inégale, mais, en fait, l'offrant n'est que le bras de la loi implacable (du Sacré), car il n'est pas celui qui sanctionne le destinataire, mais la loi (les dieux / le sacré), en vertu de laquelle il agit i.e. il rappelle au destinataire ses obligations. Les deux protagonistes de la relation d'hospitalité se trouvent donc sur le même plan : l'offrant doit déterminer le destinataire à se rappeler (il est l'initiateur d'un acte objectif), tandis que le destinataire se rappelle (il participe à un acte réflexif). Il est clair, dans l'épisode homérique mentionné plus haut que les protagonistes sont mis sur le même plan par Zeus, qui obscurcit l'esprit de Glaucos: *frenas exeletō: Il.*, VI, 234: „lui obscurcit l'esprit”.

SUIVRE LES LOIS DE L'HOSPITALITÉ: EXEMPLES DE LA LITTÉRATURE GRECQUE

Athéna/Mentor – Télémaque

Au premier chant de l'*Odyssée*, Athéna reçoit hospitalité déguisée en Mentor, ancien invité d'Odysseus. La scène suit toutes les règles de l'hospitalité. Le visiteur divin *se tient à la porte* de Télémaque (*ste ... epi prothyrois Odyseos* „se tint [...] aux portes d'Odysseus” (I, v. 103); *xeinon detha thyresin ephestamen* [...] „comme tellement longtemps un visiteur se tint à ses portes” (I, v. 120). Télémaque **reprend tel quel** le geste du visiteur et se tient lui aussi debout à la porte, mais d'une manière amicale, voire protectrice (... *engythi de stas*, et (il), se tint près de lui, [...], I, v. 120). Télémaque continua à montrer son amitié et sa bienveillance lorsqu'il **prit la main droite de son visiteur** et lui demanda le javelot: „prit sa

main droite et enleva son javelot d'arain", *cheir' hele dexiteren kai edexato chalkeon enchos* (I, v. 121). Puis il prononce **la formule d'accueil**: „soit béni, visiteur", *Chaire, xeine* (I, v. 122) et **annonce son intention de lui offrir hospitalité**: „rassasié au dîner", *deipnou passamenos* (I, v. 124), mais aussi il **l'avertit de la nécessité de déclarer le but de sa visite** „tu nous diras ce que tu cherches", *mytheseai, hotteo se chre* (I, v. 124). Télémaque continue à remplir sa fonction d'hôte quand il accompagne son visiteur dans la maison de son père et l'aide à ranger son javelot. Puis il lui offre un siège dans la salle des banquets (*es thronon heisen*, I, v. 130), il le fait s'asseoir sur un bel brocart („étendant par dessous un brocart richement embelli", *hypo lita petassas, kalon daidaleon*, I, v. 130–131), et un tabouret sous ses pieds („et il y avait un tabouret sous ses pieds", *hypo de threnys posin een*, I, v. 131). Quant à lui, Télémaque s'asseyait sur un lit coloré (*klismon ... poikilon*), loin des prétendants (*ektothen allon/mnesteron*, I, vv. 132–133). Télémaque donc honore son visiteur tant par son geste d'accueil et l'offre d'une place confortable, que par le choix **d'objets précieux** qui reflètent la splendeur d'un **spectacle convivial** (le siège, le brocart richement embelli, le tabouret). On nous dit que Télémaque se tient **loin des prétendants** pour deux raisons: 1. Pour que le visiteur ne soit pas dérangé par le vacarme des prétendants; 2. Pour avoir l'occasion d'interroger le visiteur sur le sort de son père à l'insu des prétendants (I, vv. 133–135). Il y a donc deux groupes distincts, à savoir ceux qui respectent les lois de l'hospitalité (Athéna/Mentor et Télémaque) et ceux qui les transgressent (les prétendants). Plusieurs **objets précieux** seront mis à la disposition du visiteur (Athéna) pour les ablutions rituelles – une „belle aiguière en or" *prochoo ... kale chryseie* (I, v. 136) et un „bassin en argent" *argyretoio lebetos* (I, v. 137) et pour le repas proprement dit les serviteurs dressent une „table polie" *xesten ... trapezan* (I, v. 138) sur laquelle on place des „gobelets en or" *chryseia kypella* (I, v. 142). Un **grand nombre de serviteurs** s'empressent à remplir, chacun d'eux, une charge bien précise: l'*amphipolos* est celui qui se met directement au service du visiteur et ne quitte pas la table (littéralement, il „va" *pelomai* „autour" + *amphi* du visiteur), le *tamie* est l'économe qui garde les vivres, tandis que le *keryx* est l'échanson qui prend soin des vins.

Le groupe des prétendants représente une **foule anonyme** et „arrogante" *agenores*. Aucune trace de faste, **aucuns objets précieux** ne sont mis à leur disposition. De plus, **les serviteurs ne sont pas spécialisés, mais plutôt de catégorie inférieure** – les *dmoai* qui peuvent être d'anciens prisonniers de guerre ou des domestiques communs et les *kouroi* qui sont surtout des valets. Les préparatifs du repas sont décrits en juste 5 lignes, tandis que les 4 lignes suivantes nous montrent les gestes violents et affamés des prétendants qui „poussèrent leurs mains" *cheiras iallon*, I, v. 149. Un autre geste également suggestif est celui de **bourrer** leurs panniens et leurs carafes i.e. „bourrèrent" *pareneneon* (I, v. 147), „bouchèrent" *epestepsanto* (I, v. 148). Tous ces détails contribuent à caractériser les prétendants en trahissant leur gourmandise violente et leur appartenance à une catégorie en marge de la société, des gens sans foi ni loi.

Télémaque tient à se distinguer de cette foule et crée un véritable **aparté** dramatique „tenant sa tête près (d'elle) “*anchi schon kephalen* (I, v. 156). Puis il interpèle Athéna/Mentor en hôte, d'une manière un peu surprenante. Il commence par qualifier les prétendants de voleurs qui tireraient du profit en „consommant impunément la fortune d'un étranger”, *allotrion [...] bioton nepoinon/aneros* (I, v. 160–161) dont les dépouilles éparpillées sont lavées par les vagues. Suivant ce *pooimion* à accents dramatiques très nets, Télémaque prend ses devoirs d'hôte au sérieux et adresse à son visiteur les questions de légitimations habituelles pour lui montrer son respect et essayer d'établir une relation avec son visiteur: „qui est tu? De quel peuple? Où est ta cité? Les parents?/quel navire t'est porté jusqu'à nous?/comment les matelots t'ont-ils emmené en Ithaque? Tu t'es donné pour qui? Car je suppose pas que tu t'y fut rendu a pied! [...] est tu un nouvel visiteur ou plutôt un invité de mon père [...]”, *tis, pothen eis andron? pothi toi polis ede tokees?/ hoppoies t'epi neos aphiketo; pos de se nautai/egagon eis Ithaken? tines emmenai euchetaonto? su men gar ti se pezon oiomai enthad' ikesthai [...] ee neon methepeis e kai patroios essi/xeinous* (I, vv. 170–173; 175–176). À son tour, le visiteur divin reprend la formule de l'hôte quand il répond à toutes ces questions. Il n'hésite pas d'utiliser une expression de légitimation consacrée: „je suis fier d'être” *euchomai einai* (I, v. 180) lorsqu'il témoigne d'être le fils d'Anchialos régnant sur les Taphièni et qu'il faisait du négoce (transporte du fer en échange pour de l'airain). Il décrit même le lieu où sa navire est amarée – „à Reïtros, au pied du Neïos touffu”. Lorsqu'il parle de son longue histoire d'hospitalité avec Odysseus, Athéna emploie encore une fois la formule *euchomai einai* – „Nous sommes fiers d'être des anciens hôtes, l'un pour l'autre, dès le début”, (*xeinoi d allelon patroioi euchometh einai/ ex arches*, I, v. 87–88). Il prend comme témoin le vieux Laërte, ce qui suggère que le témoignage d'un visiteur a besoin **de la confirmation d'un témoin ou des preuves de légitimation**, comme lorsque Odysseus a été reçu par Alkinoos, le roi des Phéaciens. Athéna/Mentor adresse des conseils paternels à son jeune hôte et il coupe court la cérémonie d'échange de cadeaux à la fin de sa visite, sous le prétexte d'être pressé de retrouver ses compagnons. Puis il prend son vol – *dieptato* (I, 320). Le monologue du visiteur est rempli de mots propres à l'hospitalité: „en pensant à ces choses bien chères (à un visiteur)”, *philos* (I, v. 301), *tauta phila phroneon*, (I, 307), „le cœur d'un visiteur” *philon etor*, (I, v. 310, 315), „de bonnes hôtes” *philoï xeinoi* (I, v. 313).

La scène d'hospitalité entre Athéna/Mentor et Télémaque est paradigmatique. Le visiteur divin met son hôte à l'épreuve pour voir si ses gestes s'inscrivent dans le respect des lois divines en dépit des circonstances malheureuses et du chagrin évident de son hôte. Cet épisode rappelle aux mortels les devoirs des maîtres de maison envers leurs visiteurs et donc envers leurs dieux. Télémaque suit les règles en bon hôte. Seul l'échange de dons n'est pas accompli, suite au refus du visiteur. Mais Télémaque promet à son invité un „tres bel” don *mala kalon* (I, v. 312), et renforce cette promesse par une formule gnomique „car il convient aux bonnes hôtes de faire des cadeaux à leurs invités” – *hoia philoi xeinoi xeinousi disousin*

(I, v. 313). Cette formule constitue un vrai *argumentum auctoritatis*, donc un appel à des coutumes historiques.

En rappelant à son hôte son devoir envers les visiteurs et, implicitement, les conséquences d'un éventuel défi des lois divines, le visiteur agit en instrument **anamnétique**. En même temps, il **provoque son hôte** à se légitimer. Le défi est donc un **attribut comun** des protagonistes dans une relation d'hospitalité, en vertu de son principe de **réciprocité**. Il est intéressant qu'Athéna ne demande pas explicitement hospitalité, mais **se tient debout** devant les portes de Télémaque, son javelot à la main. Le geste d'Athéna peut suggérer une menace dirigée contre son hôte, dût-il oser ne pas tenir compte des lois de l'hospitalité. On voit bien qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un visiteur quelconque, qui supplie son hôte par des formules verbales de lui offrir hospitalité en frappant à la porte. Par contre, Athéna se tient toute droite et digne, sa présence est muette, discrète, chargée de symbolisme. Elle agit en **observateur** qui ne fait que **suggérer une demande**. Plutôt, elle **s'attend** tout simplement à un certain traitement de la part de son hôte. En vérité, Télémaque est mis à l'épreuve par cette volonté incarnée de Zeus (Athéna) qui, avec les autres dieux, avait déjà pris la décision de précipiter le retour d'Odysseus. En même temps, Zeus voulait fournir une nouvelle preuve aux dieux et à soi-même: le mérite d'Odysseus et de sa famille, une preuve exemplaire du respect des mortels envers les dieux. La société archaïque tourne autour de coutumes comme celles-ci, qui assurent non seulement l'ordre et l'équilibre des relations entre les mortels (axe horizontale) mais aussi entre les mortels et le sacré (axe verticale).

Odysseus – Phéaciens (Arété, Alkinoos)

La visite d'Odysseus au palais du roi Alkinoos contient des éléments surprenants. Le texte de l'Odyssée montre que le héros **demande hospitalité** non pas à Alkinoos, mais à la **reine Arété**, suivant ainsi les conseils exprès de la princesse Nausicaa (VI, vv. 304–311) et inspiré par le portrait avantageux qu'Athéna dépeint au chant VII, v.53–74. Une fois que la déesse ait dissipé les nuages qui le soustrayait aux regards curieux, Odysseus se présente devant Arété et la **supplie** à genoux de l'aider retourner dans son pays. Mais d'abord, il montre qu'il sait très bien à qui il a affaire „Oh, Arété, fille de Rhéxénôr, qui es pareille aux dieux”, *Arete, thygater Rhexenoros antitheoio* (VII, v. 146). La reine n'est pas disposée à répondre tout de suite à cette interpellation. Cependant, le vieux phéacien Ekhénèos prend la parole pour demander au roi Alkinoos d'**honorer son visiteur en le faisant asseoir sur le trône en argent**, „faites le visiteur qui se tient debout s'asseoir sur le trône en argent”, [...] *xeinon men epi thronou argyroelou/heison anastesas* (VII, vv. 162–163) et de donner ordre aux serviteurs d'apporter du vin pour boire **à la santé de Zeus, le protecteur des visiteurs** „va demander aux échantons de mêler le vin pour que nous fassions des libations à Zeus Foudroyant qui secourre les pauvres suppliants!”, *sy de kerykessi keleuson/onion epikresai, hina kai Dii terpikerauno/ speisomen, hos th'hiketesin ham'aidioisin opedei* (VII, vv. 163–165). Suite à cette demande, Alkinoos invite

le visiteur à dîner. Il le fit lever des cendres du foyer où il s'était mis à attendre la décision des souverains et **lui prend la main** (*cheiros helon Odysea*, VII, v. 168) en signe d'amitié, à l'instar d'Athéna qui avait pris la main de Télémaque au chant I^{er}. Ainsi **Odysseus prend-il la place d'honneur**, qui était occupé par Laodamas, le fils bien aimé d'Alkinoos: „demandant à Laodamas, le fils qu'il aimait le plus et qui siégeait près de lui, à se retirer”, *hyion anastesas agapenora Laodamanta,/ hos hoi plesion hize* (VII, v. 170).

Les serveurs qui prennent le visiteur en charge sont **spécialisés**: l'*amphipolos* est celui qui l'aide avec les ablutions préalables (VII, v. 172), la *tamie* est l'économe qui lui présente toutes sortes de plats (VII, v. 175), et le *keryx* est l'échanson qui verse du vin aux convives (VII, 178). Les objets employés sont aussi bien choisis: les serveurs apportent au visiteur une belle aiguière en or (*prochoo ... kale chryseie*, VII, vv. 172–173) et un bassin en argent (*argyreio lebetos*, VII, v. 173) pour se laver et lui dressent une table polie (*xesten ... trapezan*, VII, v. 174) pour le repas. La diversité des servants et la valeur des objets apportés sont pareilles à celles décrites dans la scène consacrée à Télémaque et à Athéna/Mentor. Odysseus est donc un visiteur qui fait honneur à Alkinoos, comme Athéna avait fait honneur à Télémaque. Alkinoos suit l'avis d'Ekhénéos en demandant à l'échanson de verser du vin aux convives à la gloire de Zeus (VII, v.179–181).

Vers la fin du repas, Alkinoos annonce à ses convives Phéaciens son intention d'héberger le visiteur inconnu et de l'aider à retourner dans sa patrie, après avoir fait aux dieux de „beaux sacrifices” (*hiera kala*, VII, v. 191 et v. 186–193). Ce n'est qu'après tous les autres convives se soient retirés, que **la reine Arété**, restée seule avec le roi et le visiteur, adresse à Odysseus les **questions de légitimation** tellement attendues par celui-ci: “ Qui es-tu parmi les hommes? Qui t'a donné ces vêtements?/ Ne dis-tu pas qu'errant sur la mer, tu es venu ici?”, *tis, pothen eis andron? tis toi tade heimat' edoken?/ou de phes epi ponton alomenos enthad' hikesthai?* (VII, vv. 238–239). La reine décide de parler lorsqu'elle **reconnaît** les vêtements d'Odysseus qu'elle avait cousu elle-même avec ses femmes (VII, vv. 234–235). C'est donc par **curiosité** qu'elle approche son visiteur, à l'instar d'Hélène qui avait approché Télémaque à cause de la grande ressemblance de celui-ci à Odysseus (IV, vv.138–144). Et puisque Odysseus ne pouvait pas étaler de vieilles relations d'hospitalité avec les rois Phéaciens, il ne commence pas son discours de légitimation par les formules usuelles e.g. *euchomai einai*, mais par raconter l'histoire de son séjour chez la nymphe Calypso (VII, vv. 245–247). C'est la seule façon dont il peut répondre à la question sur la communauté dont il se réclame „Qui es-tu parmi les hommes?”, *pothen eis andron?*, puisqu'il ne pouvait mentionner personne qui pût témoigner sur lui. Tel n'est pas le cas dans l'épisode Athéna – Télémaque, où la déesse prend le porché Eumée comme témoin. Après avoir détaillé son séjour chez Calypso et son voyage en mer particulièrement fatigant, Odysseus répond aux questions de légitimation portant sur l'origine de

ses vêtements (VII, vv. 290–296): „ta fille”, *tees ...thugatros* (v. 290) qui est „pareille aux déesses”, *eikyia theesin* (v. 291) avait rempli parfaitement son devoir d’hôte en l’ayant muni de pain, *siton*, de vin, *oinon*, et de vêtements, *tade heimat[a]* (vv. 295–296). Odysseus souligne sa gratitude par une formule gnomique (argument d’autorité) et rappelle à ses hôtes la croyance populaire d’après laquelle les jeunes gens ne seraient pas censés se comporter si sagement „car les jeunes sont toujours insensés”, *aiei gar te neoterai aphradeousin* (VII, v. 294). La reine surprend encore un fois en portant une **accusation directe** contre le visiteur, dans ses questions de légitimation. On croirait qu’elle soupçonne Odysseus de mauvaise foi, d’information mensongère sur son identité et sur ses intentions – „Qui t’a donné ces vêtements?/ Ne dis-tu pas qu’errant sur la mer, tu es venu ici?”, *tis toi tade heimat’ edoken?/ou de phes epi ponton alomenos enthad’ hikesthai*. Heureusement, Odysseus réussit à dissiper ces soupçons avec son témoignage le plus sincère, ainsi qu’avec ses compliments pour Nausicaa, la fille de la reine. Ainsi se fait-il que l’hospitalité sincère et bienveillante de l’hôte trouve un écho dans l’attitude sans ambages du visiteur, suivant le principe de réciprocité de la relation d’hospitalité.

Il ne faut pas oublier qu’**Arété**, de par son nom (*areté* signifie „vertu”), **incarne le concept de vertu**. C’est elle qui établit l’identité du visiteur Odysseus, en posant des questions de légitimation et lui lançant le défi de prouver ses talents, son statut privilégié de héros et de basileus guerrier. Les lois de l’hospitalité permettent au visiteur, aussi bien qu’à l’hôte, de lancer des défis, ce qui nous montre que les deux protagonistes ont des fonctions équivalentes. Leurs gestes sont frappés de **réciprocité** et, de ce fait, le principe hiérarchique se trouve aboli. Le fait de **reconnaître les vêtements** suit le **principe de la réminiscence**, détaillé au chant XIII^e (vv. 135–138). Les Phéaciens feront des dons en remplissant leur promesse d’accompagner et de protéger le visiteur lors de son retour en Ithaque.

SUIVRE LES LOIS DE L’HOSPITALITÉ: EXEMPLES DE LA LITTÉRATURE LATINE

Didon et Énée

Ilioneus, le plus vieux habitant de Troie, est l’héraut qui demande hospitalité auprès de Didon, la reine de Carthage. Il l’interpelle avec révérence et lui parle longuement des tribulations de son peuple sur les mers, après avoir quitté Troie. Les Troyens se légitiment donc par leur **affliction**¹⁶ – „nous, les Troyens affligés”, *Troes ... miseri* (I, v. 524) plutôt que par leur fierté, comme ailleurs dans les textes homériques i.e. la formule „je suis fier d’être”, *euchomai einai*. Ilioneus assure la reine de leurs bonnes intentions, de leur manque d’intérêt pour toute destruction ou

¹⁶ Peut-être aussi parce que l’*Énéide* est dominée par la pitié (on parle souvent de *pious Aeneas*).

violence – „nous allons nous garder de piller les Pénates de Lybie, l'épée à la main,/et mener à terre le butin/nous ne nourrissons pas dans nos âmes un tel projet et il ne convient pas aux vaincus de montrer une telle arrogance”, *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates/venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;/non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis* (I, vv. 527–529). Il n'oublie pas de mentionner la peur des dieux „qui se rappellent du bien et du mal”, *memores fandi atque nefandi* (I, v. 543). De même, il lui parle de leur maître, Énée, et de ses mérites.

Didon, les yeux baissés, offre son aide aux Troyens: „Troyens, chassez de vos cœurs la peur et les soucis”, *solvite corde metum, Teucrici, secludite curas* (I, v. 562). Puis le brouillard épais se dissipe et la reine se trouve en face du héros Énée. Celui-ci renonce aux formules rituelles et se présente en des mots bien simples: „en face de vous c'est moi, le troyen Énée”, *coram [...] adsum/ Troius Aeneas* (I, vv. 595–596). Il reprend en bref les aventures malheureuses qui l'avaient amené jusqu'à Carthage et remercie la reine de sa bienveillance. Quant à elle, Didon **reconstruit l'identité** d'Énée en l'assurant de toute sa confiance et de son admiration pour ses aventures. Elle renonce à son tour aux questions de légitimation: „c'est toi le célèbre Énée, fils du Dardanien Anchise, né de Vénus aux rives de Simoïs?”, *tunc ille Aeneas, quem dardanios Anchisas/alma venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?* (I, v. 517 sqq.). Cette scène où la reine „rend les armes” devant l'autorité de son invité ressemble à la scène où Circé cède aux charmes d'Odysseus. Dans les deux cas, l'hôte est une femme et le visiteur un bel homme. On peut distinguer, sous le masque de l'hospitalité, l'ancien motif de la **soumission de la vierge à son fiancé**, propre aux relations entre hommes et femmes, qui impliquent l'idée de protection et de soumission de l'hôte (la maison du mari) par son invité (la femme).

Après le monologue de légitimation du visiteur, la reine accompagne Énée à son palais, où elle rend grâce aux dieux par des sacrifices spécifiques. Elle envoie aussi aux compagnons d'Énée un grand nombre de vases, de taureaux, et de porcs comme expression de son bonheur et aussi en obéissance des **principes d'hospitalité**. (I, vv. 631–636). Didon commande aussi qu'on prépare un banquet pour ses invités. De nombreux objets précieux sont présentés à Énée et à ses compagnons. De nombreux serviteurs (150) s'empressent à leur rendre service. Le banquet royal est tout pourpre et or: „l'intérieur du palais luisait de luxe royal/ des couvertures pourprées, splendidement travaillées,/ des couverts en argent et des gravures en or”, *at domus interior regali splendida luxu/[...] arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,/ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro*, I, vv. 637; 639–641). À son tour, Énée demande qu'on fasse débarquer beaucoup de cadeaux de grande valeur, sauvés du désastre Troyen: „une cape brodée de motifs d'or, une écharpe aux bords embellis de fleurs jaunes d'acanthé/ une parure d'Hélène d'Argos, un cadeau merveilleux de la mère Lédé, amené de Mycènes;/ un sceptre porté naguère par Ilionéus, [...] un collier de perles/ et une couronne diamantée en or”, *[...] pallam signis auroque rigentem/ et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho/ ornatus Argivae*

Helena, quos illa Mycenis, [...] *matris Leda* mirabile donum; [...] *sceptrum Illione quod gesserat olim*, [...] *colloque monile/bacatum et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam*, I, vv. 648–650; 652–655). Les servants versent de l'eau à laver aux convives et leurs fournissent de serviettes fines (*tonsis [...] mantelia villis*, I, v. 703). Des centaines de serviteurs s'empressent autour des invités (*famuli, famulae, ministri*: I, v. 701, 703, 705). On ne souligne donc pas la diversité des serveurs à table, mais leur multitude, selon la coutume orientale. Une autre différence entre le rituel d'hospitalité dépeint par Virgile et celui décrit par Homère concerne le moment où on échange les dons, i.e. avant le banquet. Il est possible que ce détail reflète **la notoriété du visiteur**, qui n'avait pas besoin de preuves supplémentaires de légitimation. Cette cérémonie est donc remplacée par la cérémonie d'échange de dons, suite à la légitimation prononcée par la reine. On se passe donc de la série complète de légitimations verbales et agoniques de la part du visiteur, ainsi que des preuves qu'il devait fournir.

On peut conclure que la scène d'hospitalité dans l'Énéide de Virgile ayant comme protagonistes le héros Énée et la reine Didon est une *interpretatio Romana* des rituels décrits par Homère dans son Odyssée. La scène d'hospitalité est adaptée à des règles littéraires et politiques différentes et comporte **le motif érotique de conquête de la bien-aimée**, souligne la **notoriété du visiteur** et détaille le **luxe oriental**.

Il existe pourtant de nombreux exemples, surtout dans les épopées homériques, quand le visiteur n'est plus l'égal de l'hôte, mais devient l'objet du festin. L'anti-festin représente une transgression des lois de l'hospitalité au sein d'une Elle traduit, en fait, un déséquilibre au sein de la relation sociale équilibrée bipartite¹⁷ produite par la transition du monde de l'*Iliade* au monde de l'*Odyssée* et, ensuite, au monde de la période posthomérique, donc du respect stricte des traditions, considérées comme des vérités immuables. On pourrait donc parler du passage à ce que A. Snodgrass appelait „la révolution structurelle” née entre le XI^e et le VIII^e siècles en Grèce, à la suite du déclin entraîné par la chute de la civilisation palatiale (mycénienne), de laquelle est née ultérieurement la Cité-État classique (*polis*). Ce déséquilibre produit à l'intérieur des relations sociales s'avère pourtant être temporaire, car, à la fin, on voit se contourner un nouveau type de relations, basées sur l'isonomie (*isonomia*), sur l'égalité en droits manifestés non seulement entre les partenaires de la relation d'hospitalité, mais à l'intérieur de la société entière (*polis*), dont les membres tendent peu à peu à se réunir autour d'une *kratos* placée au centre (*en meso*) et donc accessible à tous.

¹⁷ Paul Roth parle des crimes décrites dans l'*Orestie*, et du fait que la série de meurtres qui a lieu dans la famille des Atrides serait fondée sur le sentiment de vengeance. **La relation entre victime et son assassin porterait donc les marques des transgressions successives des lois de l'hospitalité.** Dans ses ouvrages „Guest-Friendship in Greek Tragedy” (1955, CB 31, 49, 52) et *Guest-Friendship and Development of Plot in Greek Tragedy* (1956, CB 32, 50-51), Regenos nous offre une analyse détaillée des relations d'hospitalité dans la tragédie grecque.

TRANSGRESSER LES LOIS DE L'HOSPITALITÉ: EXEMPLES DE LA LITTÉRATURE GRECQUE

Cyclopéia

L'épisode qui décrit la descente d'Odysseus dans la cave du cyclope Polyphème contient plusieurs détails surprenants, qui contredisent les lois divines de l'hospitalité. Au début, Polyphème semble s'y conformer, quand il adresse à Odysseus et à ses compagnons les questions classiques de légitimation: „Étrangers, qui êtes-vous? Quels chemins de la mer avez-vous empruntés? Devez-vous remplir une tâche quelconque, par hasard, ou errez-vous sans but, plutôt comme les pirates qui, dans leurs voyages, risquent leurs vies et apportent le malheur?”, *o xeinoi, tines este? pothen pleith'hugra keleutha?/e ti kata prexin e mapsidios alalesthe,/hoia te leisteres, hypeir hala, toi t' aloontai/psychas parthemenoi kakon allodapoisi pherontes*, IX, vv. 252–255). Tout de suite après, Polyphème montre sa **méfiance gratuite envers les visiteurs**, à l'instar de la reine Arété qui, cependant, avait bien le droit de soupçonner les raisons de son visiteur, car elle avait cousu de sa propre main les vêtements qu'il portait. Les paroles de l'hôte ont un effet puissant et immédiat sur les visiteurs. „Leur cœur fendit”, car ils craignaient „la voix basse et le colosse lui-même”, [...] *hemin d'aute kateklasithe philon etor/deisanton phthongon te baryn auton te peloron*, IX, vv. 256–257). À son tour, Odysseus essaye de garder les apparences et choisit ses mots. D'abord, il prononce quelques grands noms „nous sommes les **Achéens**, loin de **Troie**”, *hemeis toi Troiethen apoplanchthentes Achaioi*, IX, v. 259), **et justifie leur présence** dans ces parages-là par la volonté de Zeus, le seul responsable de la situation où ils se trouvaient „en rentrant, on a pris d'autres chemins; tels ont été les sorts jetés par Zeus”, *oikade hiemenoi, allen hodon alla keleutha/elthomen; houto pou Zeus ethele metisasthai* (IX, vv. 261–262). Puis on entend les formules de légitimation habituelles „nous somme fiers d'être”, *euchometh'einai*, (IX, v.263), ainsi qu'un nom bien connu, celui du roi Agamemnon, le commandant d'armée sous lequel ils étaient fiers d'avoir lutté. Il lui rappelle leur grande victoire à Troie et lui demande un don d'hospitalité: „maintenant, touchant tes genoux, nous sommes venus te demander un don d'hospitalité”, *hemeis d' aute kichanomenoi ta sa gouna/hikometh', ei ti porois xeineion ee kai allos/does dotinen*, (IX, vv. 266–268). Il renforce sa demande d'une formule gnomique qui rappelle à l'hôte ses devoirs envers les dieux et envers les hommes: „quelle est la loi des étrangers”, *he te xeinon themis estin* (IX, v. 268).

Ce qui surprend aussi c'est le grand nombre de verbes à l'impératif, qui ne suggèrent pas la supplication, mais plutôt la **commande menaçante** et donc la **sanction imminente** en cas de transgression „prend garde, brave homme, aux dieux, car Zeus honnore les suppliants étrangers qui honorent les visiteurs”, *all aideio, pheriste, theous: hiketai de toi eimen,/Zeus d' epitimetor hiketaon te xeinon te,/xeinios, hos xeinoisin ham' aidioisin opedei*, IX, vv. 269–271). L'attitude du visiteur est donc **anamnétiq ue et menaçante**. Le cyclope répond par une insulte et

par le refus de reconnaître l'autorité de Zeus ou des autres dieux. Il proclame, ainsi, sa propre **autocratie et oligarchie** et celle des cyclopes: „étranger, soit tu es sot, soit ton pays est trop lointain, sinon tu n'oserais pas me demander de craindre les dieux! Car aux cyclopes n'importent ni Zeus, le porteur de l'égide, ni les bienheureux dieux, puisque nous sommes sans doute beaucoup plus puissants”, *nepios eis, o xein', e telothē eilelouthas, / hos me theous keleai e deidimen e aleasthai; ou gar Kyklopes Dios aigiōchou alegousin/oude theon makaron, epei e poly pherteroi eimen* (IX, vv. 272–278). Le cyclope répond à la menace d'Odysseus par une autre menace, l'avertissant qu'il n'allait pas les épargner, le visiteur et ses compagnons: „quant à moi, insouciant de la colère de Zeus, je ne saurais pas vous épargner, toi et tes compagnons”, *oud'an ego Dios echthos aleuamenos pephidoimen/oute seu outh'hetaron, ei me thymos me keleuoi* (IX, 277–278). Puis, comme si rien n'en était, il se mêle des affaires d'Odysseus en lui demandant où était son navire. Cependant, celui-ci se rend bien compte de la **ruse** de son hôte: „ainsi parla-t-il, pour m'éprouver”, *hos phato, peirazon* (IX, 281) et lui répond de la même manière: „il se servit de mots rusés”, *prosephen doliois epeessin* (IX, v. 282), poursuivant ainsi le jeu proposé par son hôte. Cette fois, la réponse du cyclope est un geste abominable: il se jette sur les compagnons de son visiteur, les broie, les mets en morceaux et les mange: „mais lui, méchante âme, ne parla point, mais s'empara des compagnons comme des enfants, deux par deux, et les jeta à terre qu'il trempa de leurs cervelles”. Les déchirant en morceaux, il **se prépara le repas** (IX, 287–291). Le verbe *hoplizo* fait partie du vocabulaire militaire et signifie „prendre les armes”. Le cyclope donc **prit ses armes** pour son repas, déclarant guerre à ses visiteurs. Qui plus est, le verbe est à la diathèse moyenne, ce qui suggère qu'il **avait préparé son repas pour lui seul**.

Après le repas, Odysseus remplit le rôle d'échanson, *keryx* et donne à boire au cyclope, dans un rituel renversé. L'hôte devient invité et demande à l'échanson de remplir son gobelet: „ainsi parla-t-il, et je lui proposai encore une fois du vin pourpré; trois fois j'en ai apporté et trois fois il en but sans même y penser”, *hos phat', atar hoi autis ego poron aithopa onion./tris men edoka pheron, tris d'ekpien aphradiesin* (IX, vv. 360–361). Voici donc un exemple de **réciprocité monstrueuse** où les protagonistes employent une **ruse mutuelle** dans la relation, où **le cyclope décide de préparer son propre banquet auquel il nuit à ses invités en touchant à leur chair**, tandis qu'**Odysseus décide de servir du vin au banquet de son hôte et lui nuit en le rendant ivre et finalement aveugle**.

Comme corrolaire de nuisance réciproque, le héros dit au cyclope son nom: „Personne”, *Outis* (IX, v. 366), **le trompant** encore une fois. La tromperie s'étend donc du niveau des mots au niveau des gestes. Le jeu de manipulation mutuelle initié par l'hôte monstrueux engendre toute une série de **transgressions du principe de l'honnêteté et de bonne foi réciproque**. Le faux nom sous lequel Odysseus cache son identité est un symbole par lequel la relation d'hospitalité se trouve abolie. Le message que le héros veut transmettre est que l'hospitalité n'a pas vraiment eu lieu, puisque le cyclope a agit tout seul, se broyant ainsi dans sa propre

solitude et sa propre monstruosité, **passant outre le principe de l'alterité** qui se trouve à la base de la relation d'hospitalité. On a donc affaire à un refus du social et de la socialisation, et donc de la civilisation, ce qui représente, nous pensons, une réaction bien légitime des groupes insulaires envers l'idée de colonisation, d'appropriation territoriale et culturelle. On se rend compte que l'hospitalité dissimule, en fait, une **relation assez tendue entre envahisseurs et envahissants**, fondée sur la méfiance des derniers envers les premiers, sur la ruse mutuelle, mais aussi sur un conflit armé qui s'appuie sur la manipulation et la stratégie d'acculer l'ennemi. La rencontre finit mal pour les parties concernées. Peu à peu, **les visiteurs sont aperçus comme des ennemis et deviendront l'objet du banquet que les envahissants (alias l'hôte) préparent à eux seuls.**

Circé

La rencontre d'Odysseus avec la sorcière Circé (X, vv. 307–332) suit, dans les grandes lignes, la rencontre d'Odysseus avec Polyphème. Ici encore, les visiteurs sont réduits à une condition inférieure: ils sont transformés en cochons. Pourtant, on n'arrive pas jusqu'à en faire l'objet du banquet, car l'hôte est une femme, et donc peu inclinée à entreprendre des gestes violents ou cruels. La seule chose dont elle est capable est la magie, qui lui permet de prendre au dérisoire ses visiteurs. Aussi elle les considère en ennemis et se sert des armes féminines pour abolir leur volonté et leur pouvoir: l'ensorcellement et l'ignorance. Celui sur lequel elle n'a aucun pouvoir est Odysseus qui, dans cette rencontre comme dans les autres, voit clairement à travers la ruse de son hôte et refuse le banquet fantasque. À son tour Circé, éblouie par la sagesse du héros, va céder à ses charmes. Cependant, elle ne va pas entamer la série usuelle des questions de légitimation¹⁸ et donc ne le traite pas en visiteur qu'après qu'Odysseus eut tiré son épée et se jette sur elle. La scène finit bien, car Odysseus parvient à libérer ses compagnons de leur peaux de cochons et réussit même à convaincre Circé de les aider partir. Elle leur donne des conseils pour leur voyage et pour construire un radeau¹⁹ ce qui fait que la cérémonie d'échange de dons est maintenant accomplie, au moins par Circé.

TRANSGRESSER LES LOIS DE L'HOSPITALITÉ : EXEMPLES DE LA LITTÉRATURE LATINE

Lucrèce

Un exemple typique de transgression des lois de l'hospitalité est le suicide de Lucrèce, décrit par Tite Live (I, 58–59). L'épisode raconte la visite rendue par

¹⁸ „Qui est tu entre les hommes ? Où est ta cité et tes parents?” *Tis, pothen eis andron? Pothi toi polis ede tokees?* (X, v. 325).

¹⁹ Pour une description détaillée de cet épisode, voyez Maria-Luiza Dumitru Oancea *Antiospeŝia în Odysseia homerică. Ianua. Lumea Greco-romană în studii și articole*, (eds.) Ana-Cristina Halichias și ...?, Universitatea din București, 2009, pp. 375–383.

Sextus Tarquinius à son cousin Tarquinius Collatinus. Une fois arrivé chez celui-ci, Sextus tombe amoureux de Lucrèce, la femme de son hôte. Il la visite de nouveaux, après le banquet, la sachant seule et sans protection. Il est bien reçu par son hôte qui le fait désalterer et lui offre un lit confortable. Cependant Sextus Tarquinius en abuse pour sortir de sa chambre l'épée à la main et menacer Lucrèce de mort. Puis il lui chouchotte des mots d'amour que la vertueuse Lucrèce ne reçoit pas bien. Cela ne fait qu'exacerber sa violence. Cette fois, il la menace d'une mort déshonorante: ce sera un esclave qui la tuerait et elle serait retrouvée dans le lit de celui-ci. Le texte nous dit que Sextus „fait tout le possible de tourner la tête de la femme”, *Tarquinius [...] versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum* (I, 58, 9–11). Au bout de ses forces, Lucrèce se donne la mort. Nous avons donc affaire à une **conquête érotique**. Le hôte est en même temps épouse qui doit remplir ses devoirs envers sa maison et envers son mari. Dans ce cas, le motif de la conquête érotique ou du *cherchez la femme* se déplace vers l'idée du **viol**, de la séduction violente et criminelle, pour **légitimer le passage de la royauté à la république**²⁰. L'auteur a voulu dépeindre l'épisode dans toute sa cruauté féroce pour souligner la dégradation de l'individualité romaine, ce qui permettrait au patriciat de motiver leur réforme politique. Lucrèce devient ainsi le symbole du peuple romain abusé et humilié par les rois étrusques, et aussi une justification pour les Romains d'introduire une nouvelle formule de gouvernance. Son nom témoigne de l'importance du droit dans la communauté: *respublica*, „l'ouvrage du peuple”. On a affaire à une *interpretatio Romana* des principes de l'hospitalité, où les faits acquièrent une auréole mythique qui forge les légendes.

LES HORS-LOI : LES MENDIANTS

Le chant XVIII^e de l'*Odysée* dépeint l'épisode de la mêlée entre et le mendiant Iros et Odysseus déguisé en mendiant. Dès le début, la description de Iros rappelle celle des prétendants: „des goinfres qui ne savent que manger et boire/Au corps gros, gigantesque, énorme”, *meta d'eprepe gasteri marge/azeches phegemen kai piemen; oude hoi en is/oude bie, eidos de mala megas en horaasthai* (XVIII, vv. 2–3). Le texte comprend aussi un détail significatif sur le manque de force du mendiant, qui n'était pas calé en lutte et dont l'héroïsme faisait défaut. Fanfaron et querelleur, il attend de chasser Odysseus qui se tenait devant la maison, pour peur que celui-ci n'essayât de partager son gain. C'est lui qui interpelle Odysseus en le „maudissant”, *min neikeion* (XVIII, v. 9). Puis il menace de le mutiler, mais tous les verbes dans le texte sont au potentiel optatif: „je l'arrangerais”, *metisaimen*; „je lui casserais”, *exelasaimi*. Antinoüs s'en réjouit et propose aux autres prétendants d'encourager les mendiants à se battre. Il les incite même de parier sur le vainqueur (XVIII, v. 39, 43–49). Odysseus accepte de se battre après avoir obtenu des prétendants qu'ils ne trichassent pas en aidant Iros. Quant à

²⁰ Eugen Cizek, *Istoria Romei*, București, Paideia, 2002, p. 42.

Télémaque²¹, il encourage Odysseus et l'assure de son soutien. Il s'adresse à l'inconnu avec l'appelatif „visiteur”, *xein'* (XVIII, v. 61) et à Iros avec „celui-ci”, *touton* (XVIII, v. 62). Déjà Télémaque rend hommage au statut privilégié d'Odysseus déguisé. Cependant, les prétendants ignorent ce détail, dans leur hate à suivre le spectacle ensanglanté promis. À la vue du corps musclé d'Odysseus, Iros est pris par la peur. Il tremble affreusement, comme s'il pressentait sa fin (v. 75). Antinoüs lui-même raille le mendiant apeuré: „à quoi bon vis tu, qui n'as rien à défendre”, *nyn men met' eies, bougaie, mete genoio* (XVIII, v. 79). La mêlée finit mal : Iros est vite vaincu par Odysseus qui, après, le range au long du mur extérieur de la cour (XVIII, v. 102–103) pour lui faire savoir, si besoin était, le sort des mendiants et des hors-loi. On ne leur fait aucune part dans les relations d'hospitalité dans lesquelles seuls entrent les maîtres de maison qui ne déignent pas entrer en compétition avec les hors-loi.

CONCLUSIONS

L'institution de l'hospitalité comporte des règles et des rituels qui parlent de socialisation, de la reconnaissance des vertus personnelles et de la promotion des **valeurs de la démocratie** avant la lettre comme l'égalité et la fraternité, qui sont inhérentes, d'ailleurs, à la nature humaine. Plus tard, ces valeurs seraient promues par les Chevaliers de la Table Ronde et par le communisme utopique. On a vu que toutes les catégories sociales ne jouissaient pas du privilège de l'hospitalité. Seuls les citoyens pouvaient prendre part à la vie communautaire. Les hors-loi i.e. les mendiants, les courtisanes ou les voleurs ne participaient pas aux institutions sociales car ils ne faisaient pas partie de la société proprement dite. Sans doute, l'hospitalité était nuancée selon la classe sociale de chaque citoyen. Le repas, par exemple, tournait en banquet chez les hôtes aisés ou si le rang des visiteurs était important. **La légitimation** était aussi importante dans l'économie du rituel d'hospitalité, car elle donnait des garanties, à l'hôte, qu'il pouvait traiter des inconnus en invités. L'hospitalité est un instrument social qui provoque les membres d'une communauté à se légitimer, à prouver leur aptitudes pratiques, voire héroïques, à acquérir de la notoriété et du respect, à identifier le segment social auquel ils appartiennent²². Pratiquer l'hospitalité c'est nourrir une structure sociale hiérarchique à

²¹ Télémaque rencontre et reconnaît Odysseus au chant XVI°.

²² Dopico Cainzos Maria Dolores (1997), 21, 525–543 voit dans la pratique de l'hospitalité un moyen de **créer et perpétuer le pouvoir**; M.M Austin și Pierre Vidal-Naquet (*Economic and Social History of ancient Greece: an introduction*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1977, III^e édition) considèrent que le don ainsi que le contre-don sont des formes primitives d'échange, plutôt que des signes de reconnaissance mutuelle entre aristocrates. Cela serait évident dans le dialogue d'Athéna/Mentor et Télémaque. Ferdinand Lot (*Du régime de l'hospitalité*, pp. 976-1011) adopte une perspective juridique-économique sur la pratique de l'hospitalité. Il discute du partage des terres chez les Wisigoths et chez les Ostrogoths dans l'Empire Oriental, ainsi que chez les peuples d'Espagne et d'Italie, chez les Burgondes de Gaule et chez les Vandales d'Afrique. Son analyse s'appuie sur la célèbre *Lex Burgundionum* où on spécifie que, lors du partage des terres entre les Barbares et les Romains, les premiers en recevaient deux tiers, ainsi qu'un tiers des esclaves: „tempore quo populus noster mancipiorum tertiam et duas terrarum partes accepit? (cap. LIV) – *apud* Lot, p. 977.

l'exclusion des courtisanes ou des mendiants, par exemple, qui n'avaient pas le droit de faire part à des relations sociales telles l'hospitalité, le commerce, ou l'armée.

Souvent, le rituel de l'hospitalité se trouve superposé à d'autres motifs ou rituels, tels **cherchez la femme** ou **les conquérants envahisseurs**. Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit d'une tendance générale de transformer l'histoire événementielle en mythe pour **justifier** soit la présence étrangère des conquérants dans des terres lointaines soit un changement politique, ou la reconnaissance du mérite des gens célèbres. Pourquoi emprunter le schéma de l'hospitalité à de tels cas? Nous croyons que la violence qui soutient tant la séduction que l'invasion militaire est semblable à celle adoptée par le visiteur menaçant. Dans les deux cas, un inconnu tente de s'approcher de certaines personnes. Cette tendance vers la proximité est un lieu commun pour les relations sociales en général et donc pour les relations d'hospitalité.

Nous pouvons donc affirmer que l'hospitalité est fondée sur la **technique de l'anamnèse** (*anamnesis/ recordatio*) et de **l'imitation** (*mimesis/ imitatio*): on rappelle un geste qu'autrefois les dieux avait fait les uns envers les autres et que les humains doivent imiter. On pourrait même aller plus loin et dire que l'hospitalité s'appuie sur la technique du rappel efficace et donc implique un certain rapport avec la temps. L'offrant (le principe moteur dans la relation d'hospitalité) imprime au destinataire le désir de retourner dans le temps et de fouiller dans ses souvenirs personnels (*anamnesis*). Il a l'occasion de percevoir le temps mythique et ainsi de se ré-calibrer dans la dimension temporelle, de retrouver sa propre identité dans le complexe d'états temporeux possibles, tant par le contact avec le passé (identifié au temps mythique), que par son ancrage dans le présent, au moment où il doit agir. Les protagonistes de la relation d'hospitalité parviennent à évoquer le temps mythique dans leur existence historique.

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NEGOTIATING TRUST AS “MORAL SUBSTANCE” IN THE POST-WAR ANGOLAN SOCIETY: A CASE STUDY OF THE ETHNOGRAPHER’S POSITIONING IN THE FIELD

MĂDĂLINA FLORESCU¹

This is a paper about the negotiation of trust in the post-war Angolan society through a study of the positioning of the ethnographer in the field. The field of study are the social relations and forms of communication that organized the House of the Episcopal Conference of Angola and São Tomé (CEAST) in Luanda, four years after the official ending of the war. The war and its ending had produced a diffuse sentiment of suspicion that coloured the meaning of what people said. By looking at how the ethnographer was renamed it is possible to learn about a wider cultural way of conceptualising and negotiating trust as a “moral substance”. Its sharing between people created a “semantic atmosphere”. Whereas “landscape” has a visualist bias, the notion of “semantic atmosphere” seeks to convey what a sense of “meaningfulness” may feel like for those living in a divided society.

Key words: trust, post-war, Angola, ethnography of communication.

INTRODUCTION

When I began my field study in September 2006, the post-colonial war in Angola had ended four years earlier by military means with the killing of Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the opposition. One consequence was the enforcement of an authoritarian regime that contributed to the political colouring of the growing social and economic disparity that was visible at all levels of public life. It was said for instance that provinces whose governors were of the opposition party (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA) developed less than those whose governors were of the ruling party (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA). A similar distinction was also made with reference to dioceses and their Bishops’ political allegiances. But if economic differences were linked to differences between political parties, social identities were also defined in religious terms.

¹ Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto (CEAUP), Portugal (<http://www.africanos.eu/ceaup>). Email: ngomendan@gmail.com

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Being a Catholic or a Pentecostal Christian of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) for instance was about class and status, in the same way that “indigenous” religion, which was pejoratively connoted as backward superstitions in the national media, was about exclusion from citizenship in the commercial spaces of modern life styles. “Indigenous” religion was associated with backward rural spaces and ethnicity as opposed to nationality, and its practitioners were imagined to harbour “evil” intentions or, in a more neutral register, to suffer from the “shame” of being poor. In this way, the economic and social disparity, described in a language of religious and ethnic difference, became a differentiation between registers of imagination and perception and by extension it affected the formation of relations of affinity based on mutual trust.

Presenting oneself and narrating one’s life history under these circumstances was not easy. Narratives are social products, but more than in other Southern African countries trust was a particularly limited basis of sociality in post-war Luanda. For instance, one of the questions my informants asked me few days after my arrival at the House of the Episcopal Conference of Angola and São Tomé (CEAST) in Luanda was “What brought you here?” meaning “Can we trust you?”. My understanding and response to that question and my informants’ understanding and subsequent response to it in a “language of names” contributed to construct a register of trust in which it became possible to tell stories about a biographic past that was forgotten from the official discourse that dominated public spaces. This language on the other hand did not serve to recall the past that was forgotten, as much as to convey the affect produced by that forgetting.

In the following pages I reflect on how my informants and I negotiated the terms of our relation and eventually created a sense of mutual trust and respect. I have opted for “a methodology of small numbers” (Pandolfo 2006) which argues for a greater appreciation of the poetic dimension of inter-subjectivity in encounters where interlocution is informed by the unequal positioning of participants in a field of relations of power. But the paper also argues for an analysis that does not reproduce the resistance/dominance dualism by nuancing the positioning of the ethnographer and show that the object of research is socially constructed during fieldwork, not determined a priori.

AT THE HOUSE OF THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE OF ANGOLA AND SÃO TOMÉ IN LUANDA

Let me begin by introducing the place where I did my field study so that the reader can better appreciate my informants’ own difficult position and use of speech to negotiate trust with an “outsider” in that context. I stayed at the House of the Episcopal Conference of Angola and Sao Tome (CEAST) in Luanda between September 2006 and July 2007. These temporal limits were those of my visa, not of my choice. I ended up being a guest there because of the difficulties I had in finding accommodation at an accessible price in Lunda and where I could establish

some contacts with “locals”. My initial project was to do research in a town in Northern Angola that in the media had become famous for a deadly epidemic as well as for accusations of sorcery against children. But as a result of my encounter with those who were my commensals and co-lodgers, I ended up doing ethnography of this social space, which was very much about memory, in particular the memory of a post-colonial cohort of “indigenous” Catholic priests about which more is said later.

According to local oral history the building of the House of CEAST in Luanda had been constructed by Dominican friars “at the time of the settlers” or “during colonialism”, which referred to the period of the 1940s and 1950s in the framework of a Concordat between the Holy See and the Portuguese government. After independence in 1975 the building had been nationalised by the post-colonial one party state and transformed in what continued to be known as “the School of the Party”. With the ending of the Cold War, and with the renunciation by the ruling party to its Marxist Leninist ideology in 1991, the buildings were devolved to the Church. This is when the “School of the Party” became the “*Lar da CEAST*” (House of CEAST). This shows that at the level of the built environment the boundary between state and Catholic Church had been more fluid than it would transpire from the ideological and institutional divisions that punctuate the history of Portuguese colonialism and of the decolonization of Portuguese Africa. It is perhaps because this boundary was not fixed in space, time, or social hierarchy that the maintenance of other divisions mattered.

Architecturally, the *Lar da CEAST* was a small complex of two buildings, although the guesthouse proper was hosted in only one building. This was four floors high with a main entrance and with an external courtyard separated from a street by a relatively low palisade, which seemed to be made of steel. The courtyard was used as a parking as well as for occasional socialization. It also had a small internal garden that faced the street, but nobody used it, like the vestibule next to the main entrance. The most frequented parts of the building were the refectory and the chapel on Sunday mornings. The chapel was situated at the end of a corridor that led directly to it from the main entrance, whereas the access to the refectory was less obvious to someone who was not familiar with the internal layout of the building. A smaller residence, perhaps two floors high, was attached to the main building. It belonged to the Dominican order that was said to have sponsored the construction of the building, but with whom there was virtually no interaction. Then, opposite the main entrance was a shed-like structure used by the security guards during their diurnal and nocturnal shifts. The main building could host approximately 80 people in total, but throughout my stay between 13th September 2006 and 14th July 2007 the rooms were never all rented at once². If

² As the visa on my passport shows, the first visa issued was valid from the 13th September 2006 and the last day of validity of the second renewal of the second visa was the 14th July 2007. The duration of my field of study was determined by the duration of my visa. I had been issued an ordinary visa that was valid for one month and renewable twice. Should the holder of the visa wish a

after its devolution by the one party state the guesthouse had been reserved to members of the clergy, after the ending of the war in 2002 it became increasingly accessible to virtually anyone, although priority continued to be given to members of the clergy. It was a relatively affordable accommodation in Luanda that included also three daily meals, access to electricity and water, and a certain sense of safety.

The premises were administered by a Marian female religious order from Mexico called “Sisters of Light” (*Irmãs da Luz*). This congregation had arrived in the archdiocese of Luanda in 1992 as a result of the alignment of the Bishop of Luanda on Vatican II and his request for missionaries from Southern America to compensate the insufficiency of priests in Angola, which was considered a danger because it was said to be a cause of backsliding and spread of superstitious beliefs. The nuns recalled the guesthouse at the time of its devolution as full of “rotten garbage” (*lixio podre*) and without windows or doors. The main problem had been the hydraulic system, which was so old that there was earth in the pipes. A new installation was made for keeping separate the “clean” and “dirty” water. But they also continued to boil the tap water before making it available for public drinking in a plastic container by the entrance to the refectory or in jugs during meals. During my stay, the refurbishment of the premises underwent a new stage of “modernization” in view of hosting the Bishops who were going to attend an African Synod (*Imbisa*) in July 2007. The walls in all the rooms were repainted and the bathrooms furniture was renewed.

The nuns defined themselves as “active” in opposition to “contemplative nuns”, explaining that the latter consecrated themselves to a life of prayer, whereas the former also engaged in mundane affairs. Indeed, most of their time they were busy solving problems with “documents” (*documentos*), meaning that they mediated between the clergy and the Angolan bureaucracy for obtaining visas, authorisations for residence or passports. On the other hand, the focus of the Mexican nuns’ worship also drew a boundary between their Catholicism and the predominantly female popular Catholicism of Luanda that was also focussed on the cult of the Virgin and which was concentrated around the “old” Portuguese Churches like *Nossa Senhora dos Remedios* (Our Lady of the Medicines) or around shrines like Muxima that had been constructed in the 16th and 17th centuries together with the military forts that were the main apparatus of the conquest. The nuns said that upon their arrival in Luanda they had been shocked to see women wearing wrap skirts with the image of the Virgin printed on them. Wrap skirts were the conventional cloth a woman would wear before entering a church and they

second one, he or she was supposed to return to the country where the first visa had been issued. I did so once, and because of a series of misunderstandings regarding the duration of the initial visa I ended up staying for longer, although I was also fined for “illegal stay”. I subsequently spent a month in Kinshasa before returning to London as guest of the relatives of a “Bakongo” family I befriended while in Luanda through the intermediary of the person who became my research assistant in the last three months of my stay. In his company I became acutely aware of the deep divide there exists in Angolan society between Lusophones and non-Lusophones.

were also sold outside these “old” churches. A young Angolan nun from the religious order of the Clarissas said for instance that she always carried with her a wrap skirt and a rosary wherever she went, but that she did not wear it publicly above her Catholic religious garb. It did not have images of the Virgin printed on it but it was nevertheless the symbol of an “Africanized” Catholicism that in the Catholic Church of Angola did not have the same recognition as in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo for instance. So she cherished the wrap skirt as symbol of a “personal” aspect of her link to the Catholic Church but which could not be fully expressed in the language of the Catholic order to which she belonged.

The social division of labour that organised the internal space of the *Lar* had also affected my “ethnographic labour”. The most important spatial division was between the area for guests, both clergy and laics, and the residential quarters of the nuns which comprised a separate kitchen and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. But the most important social division of labour by day was between the female cooks and the nuns. On one occasion, it was around 5.45pm, when dinner was prepared, I went into the kitchen for my Kimbundu class with one of the cooks. We had agreed that she would teach me words in Kimbundu and that in return I would teach her words in English and French. But my informant said the nuns were displeased with my presence in the kitchen while the cooking was done and that I should come back after we (guests) had finished our dinner. But then, the cooks would be busy cleaning up and putting the utensils, ingredients, and leftovers in place still under the nuns’ supervision whose task was to make sure the cupboards were locked and that food was not “stolen”. So I decided to invite them for a beer. But outside the *Lar* skin colour and income differentials acquired a salience they did not have in the context of the *Lar*. Because of “my colour” for instance my informants said we could not go where they would usually go for beer, so we went to a nearby restaurant where the cost of a beer was affordable to me but not to them. This income differential ended up over-determining the topic of the conversation, which revolved around the better chances people had in Europe to give their children a good education. So the limits imposed on the production of ethnographic knowledge through my interaction with the female cooks by the internal division of labour at the *Lar* became a limit imposed by social stratification along racial and economic lines in the public space at large. The lesson is that the social organization of labour within the *Lar* prevented the transmission of a “cultural” knowledge that seemed to be important for the organization of the post-war society by other values and principles than those of the Catholic hierarchy.

On the other hand, the boundaries of the social organisation of the space of the *Lar* changed from day to night. These variations in time as “light” made visible the unequal distribution of the “moral load” attached to the performance of different tasks. In the social interactions during the day, the food served in the refectory was the main cause of discontent among priests, whereas Angolan laics said that they were not actually used to have so much choice and that the nuns “exaggerated”. On one occasion, as we were finishing our dinner in the refectory,

one of the nuns passed by carrying a tray with two bowls and one of the priests asked her – with what I perceived as a provocatively ironic tone – if what she carried was the same thing that we had just eaten and whether we could have more to eat. By contrast, Angolan laic guests were concerned with controlling the appropriate display of their own appetite and commented that for breakfast they usually had either tea or coffee with milk and bread with butter, but no jam or cocoa, which were an option at the guesthouse. The suspicion people had of their own and others’ “hidden” capacity for eating was how in that social context the limited trust that was otherwise diffuse in the post-war society found expression. But if during the day the nuns were the custodians of the boundary between “good” and “bad” appetite as holders of the keys to the reserves of food and cooking utensils, at night the custodians of the boundary between the insiders and outsiders of the *Lar* were security guards. While the nuns were the most intrinsic of the “moral goodness” “of the *Lar*, the security guards were the most extrinsic. But if one relates the internal organization of the *Lar* to the organization of society at large, one can see the power of the Catholic Church in post-war Angola expressed in the relation between the negative moral attributes of the security guard in the external nocturnal landscape seen from within the *Lar* and the cultural attributes of male kinship roles such as husband and father within the diurnal organization of households in the margins of the Catholic Church.

These observations should show the kind of boundaries that were important in the social organization of the *Lar* and how they were related to one another and to the organization of the society at large. These boundaries (spatial, social, religious, and gendered) were codified in forms of address and topics covered in speech. They constructed commensality as my field of study because in that context a more or less free use of speech was limited to interactions among “equals” by status, which meant those who ate together. But the boundaries of commensality were contested by priests who drew different boundaries than the nuns did. For them, the most important difference was not between employees and guests but between clergy and laity, or, as they put it, those who had received a formal education (*formados*) and those who had not. Then, once this boundary had been drawn, the next most important difference was political and moral between those who recognised the legitimacy of the ruling party to use violence to end the war, and those who did not. Let me now turn to how these social divisions at the *Lar* were related to the boundaries drawn by my informants.

“WHAT BROUGHT YOU HERE?”

When I appeared at the House of CEAST I became an object of suspicion because I was an “unusual being”: I manifestly had the power to be physically and politically mobile across a geographical distance that indexed what must have been non negligible economic, social, and political resources (such as documents of

identity) rather than naivety. I was by myself, I did not wear the clothes of the church and I did not introduce myself as working for an international organization, whether governmental or not. Then, although a “guest”, I also sought the company of and engaged in conversations with the security guards and the employees, which meant to transgress the boundaries of my social status that were the boundaries of commensality. My presence was therefore disturbing for everyone because my “connections” to the Angolan state and the wider world were unclear. People could not figure out the “route” that had brought me there or the purpose of my visit.

Those who were employed there as security guards or factotums thought that I worked for the state police or state security, because of my display of technological power in the guise of a mobile phone when I interacted with people. Apparently this made them think I used that apparatus to store their names and their words, which could then be used against them. This suspicion about the intentions of a stranger was a structure of affect that was shared with priests. The difference was the institutional landscape. While for the factotums it was the national police, for priests it was not only the police but also international organizations. To them I appeared like someone who worked for UNAVEM (United Nations Angola Verification Mission). This was an organization that was set up in 1988 to supervise the withdrawal of Cuban troops and it had been redeployed in the 1990s for the demobilization of UNITA’s army. But in the social milieus that priests frequented, the meaningless acronym of this international organization had been made a joke that was a story told in the genre of gossip: *uma vem, e outra vai* (one arrives, the other goes). At the phonetic level, the acronym UNAVEM had become the word *unavem* that had then been divided into the sounds *una* and *vem* and then *una* had become *uma*. *Uma* in Portuguese is the feminine form of the personal pronoun meaning “one” and *vem* is the third singular form of the verb *vir* (to arrive). So this series of successive phonetic transformations produced a story: *uma vem* (one arrives). Then, this story about the arrival of a girl or a woman had been developed into a plot by adding to it a second part that would continue the first: *e outra vai* (and the other goes).

The joke travelled by word of mouth between tellers and hearers, but it was also bounded to a social milieu familiar to priests, not to the employees of the *Lar* or to the nuns who administered its premises. On the other hand, its dialogic structure points to the presence of an oral genre common to other parts of Africa and in which a public performance engages a poet or a singer and his/her audience (cf. Tonkin 1992: 89). But the circumstances in which that joke was uttered in allusion to my arrival suggest that in order to be interpreted it should be seen to be part of a broader cultural code of hospitality (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 94–112). I was a presence that needed to be named and my renaming was the enactment of a “ceremony” of incorporation of strangers that brought to the surface the complex interlocking of Catholic ritual and rites of initiation in the “indigenous” religion that was my informants’ role. Because I was a stranger, my “intentions” had to be known. A person’s intentions were calibrated to her social status, which in turn was

conceptualized as “number”: whether it was the number of dependents that person was responsible for, or the number of a patron’s clients to which that person belonged.

Strangerhood on the other hand is not an attribute of individuals but of relations between people with different assumptions about what language is and how it functions in the world. A borderland is not necessarily geographical or sociological but it is “in the encounter between people who start from sharply contrasting assumptions” (Keane 2007: 8). A ceremony of renaming is a negotiation of the terms of the social construction of reality from that point onwards, for the arrival of a stranger alters the imagination and perception of her hosts as much as their reception can appear strange to the outsider. An encounter is therefore always an encounter among strangers: the roles of “guest” and “host” and the relation between these roles do not precede an encounter but are an outcome of the “ordeal” through which the parties involved usually must go. The creation of reciprocity is mediated by an alteration of roles rather than by an identity of roles, which makes possible the avoidance of conflict by its transposition to a particular register of speech, such as jokes (Pitt Rivers 1977: 102). This is also why, contrary to what has been asserted by anthropologists (Brinkman 2004), I do not think that there is a fundamental a priori analytical difference to make between ceremonies of naming in a context of war and in a context of peace. It is the ceremony of renaming that defines the keying of social actions: whether it is a war or not, whether objects are to be used as weapons or not, whether “enmity” is a register of the imagination or not. This is why the ethnography of an encounter will have to be first “a [speculative] exercise in the logic of social relations, [namely] the scales which one may practice before attempting to interpret the infinitely complex score of reality” (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 99). This speculation is two-ways, for others also speculate on the ethnographer.

People already knew my name, for I used it to introduce myself. But they did not know the purpose of my journey or my origins, which emerged as culturally significant attributes of a person’s role and by extension of a person’s “name”. This cultural category of the person did not answer the question “What is your name?” or “How do people call you?” but “What has brought you here?” (*o que é que levou a Madalena para cá?*). Answering that question implied understanding its dialogic structure and that it belonged to a broader cultural language through which people negotiated trust by deciding how far they would listen to another’s speech and, by extension, share in that person’s imagination. But at stake was persuading others of the truthfulness of one’s speech. In a code of honor, social commitment implies commitment to tell the truth about one’s intentions as opposed to taking liberties with one’s imagination and represent reality as one pleases (Pitt Rivers 1977: 12).

In Luanda, the cultural notion that one may translate as “honor” was defined as a person’s *sotaque* in the sense of how a person “sounded” and the main difference was made between “outsiders” and “insiders” and then, between “powerful” and “non powerful” outsiders. Determining a person’s *sotaque* was to determine the power of that person’s speech in the sense of determining what that

person could actually achieve through speaking or how far reaching her words were. Within the same language, the notion of *sotaque* on the other hand was related to another, *jeito*, meaning a principle of potentiality. As I will discuss it at greater length in the concluding section, this was a cultural concept that unlike the former allowed for a greater margin of negotiating trust in the context of relationships of association formed between individuals for long term commitments, as opposed to the negotiation of trust with strangers and without the intention of longer term commitments. *Sotaque* was an assessment of a person's "real mean", whereas *jeito* was an assessment of a person's "real ends".

I presented myself as someone who does a research on "children accused of sorcery". In the national media and in street rumor among Lusophones, this phenomenon was connected with the inhabitants of Northern Angola that by definition were neither Lusophone nor Catholic, which were the main attributes of Angolan citizenship. The year prior to my research, the Catholic episcopacy had organized a national conference on *feitiçaria* (sorcery), which was also the main topic of "the Week of Philosophical reflection" about the relation between indigenous languages and Portuguese at the Major Seminary of Luanda that took place during my stay. But the Church did not have a policy on "childhood". This was part of the domain of competence reclaimed by the State in the guise of a protective father that had devised a policy on "the development of the child under five years of age" oriented to the international community of donors. I therefore positioned myself within a discourse about what constituted "proper" Catholicism on one hand and legitimacy of birth on the other.

My interlocutors answered this "presentation of myself" by giving me names that positioned me within relations of "fictive" kinship as well as within a "fictive" hierarchy of the Catholic Church at a vantage point that was not the perspective of either the national media, state discourse, or the Catholic episcopacy. My names established "paradoxical" connections between the language of kinship and ethnicity used by the state to represent the post-war nation and a language of sexuality to represent the "labour division" between the post-war institutions.

NEGOTIATING TRUST THROUGH NAMES

In the context of commensality at the House of CEAST, I was renamed *Mana Mado* and a *Secretaria do Bispo*. But if the first name was used "seriously" to greet me on a daily basis, the second name was used only occasionally and as part of a joke. Together they juxtaposed two registers of the imagination of the relationship of hospitality in which I was positioned as both "insider" and "outsider". The second register also served to represent a social conflict that could not be said otherwise between those priests who recognised the legitimacy of the MPLA and those who did not, a difference that had a material and moral counterpart in unequal prospects of social and economic advancement.

Etymologically *mana* and *mano* are believed to derive from the Spanish words *hermano* (brother) and *hermana* (sister). The Portuguese have apparently used them for centuries and in Lusophone Africa they were widely used salutations since before independence³. They can be used as a mark of respect for an elder who is not a parent, as a way of creating a sense of equality, and/or to express affection. We know for instance that in the 1950s, among the Ovimbundu of the Central Highlands, *mano* and *mana* were terms used for “elder brother” and “elder sister” by contrast to the Portuguese words *irmão* and *irmã* used as equivalents for Umbundu terms for “younger sibling” (Edwards 1962: 95). *Mano* and *mana* were thus used with both family and non family members and they were a sign of recognition of membership in a shared Christian community. This suggests that during colonialism a link was established between kinship terms in the Portuguese language and the markers of Christianity, the most important being the Christian name received at baptism in addition to the African name (Valente 1973 in Dulley 2010: 62). But then, during the war of decolonization acts of renaming had been important in marking the frontline between the Portuguese army and the guerrilla movements (Brinkman 2004) and after independence forms of address had been markers of the frontline between the government based in the capital and the opposition in rural areas. In the post-colonial war, *mano* and *mana* became politically charged terms, for their usage connoted membership in the UNITA party, by contrast to membership in the MPLA party, known as the “party of the comrades” (*camaradas*)⁴. In the context of the House of CEAST, as in the Angolan society at large, *mana* was also the marker of the boundary between membership in a Catholic religious congregation and the wider society. Nuns were never called *mana* and the use of *irmã* as a form of address implied ascription of membership in the Catholic hierarchy or else it would be used with Europeans. But in my case *mana* did not specify a religion or social status, it rather made clear the ambiguity between “insiders” and “outsiders”. I was included in a category of the familiar world, but I remained an outsider to that familiar world because I did not have kinship relations in the Angolan society and I was not part of a religious order.

Mado was instead a translation in the vernacular of *Madalena*. It denoted a familiar context of usage by contrast to the official context of the state administration. In official contexts, I would be called *Madalena*, not *Mado*. Also, the priest who renamed me *Mana Mado* claimed an Ovimbundu ethnic identity and he was also one of the very few Catholic priests in Luanda who overtly supported UNITA. His act of naming was symbolic, and perhaps also ironic, for it used a UNITA language in a building that until 1992 had been a bastion of the MPLA and which continued to be frequented by government officials or by the Catholic clergy loyal to the MPLA. It was also an act of defiance by which he asserted himself as a

³ João Cabrita, pers. comm.

⁴ In Mozambique on the other hand *irmão* would be used in the ruling party Frelimo by the rank and file as opposed to the use of *camarada* in the higher ranks, João Cabrita, pers. comm.

person to whom respect was due. This was the respect for a person that was not only a Catholic priest but someone who also held a Master's Degree in studies for the resolution of conflicts from a British University and was a "cultural mediator" for the NGO Jesuit Refugee Services. But forms of address, like personal names, also changed with the changing social context which was also a change in roles.

Occasionally, when during the meals at the refectory there was present a priest from the diocese of Cabinda, he was jokingly called "Bishop of Mavinga" and, if I was also present, I became "the Secretary of the Bishop". The priest contended that he did not have a beard and a big belly. Having a "big body" or "putting on weight" were usual comments on someone's upward mobility, for this implied "eating" more in the sense of having access to a greater capacity for accumulating wealth, prestige, and influence and therefore of having the protection of influential individuals in the government. The word used for this kind of power was *cunha*. But the beard and big belly were also caricatural attributes of Jonas Savimbi, the leader of UNITA whose killing had ended the post-colonial war, which meant the actual lack of *cunha*.

The sexual innuendo on the other hand concealed a more "serious" representation of the institutions of the post-war society. This "hidden" image was not attached to titles (Bishop) but to place names (Mavinga) and the implicit meaning was the unequal visibility of a post-war MPLA landscape by contrast to a UNITA landscape. Cabinda is an enclave that belongs to Angola and is situated in Congolese territory. It is renown for its off shore oil fields as well as for an ongoing warfare between a separatist movement and the Angolan government. It also has one of the greatest densities of expatriates employed in the oil sector by companies like Chevron. In the local language of Luanda, Cabinda was a symbol of wealth and "Angolans from Cabinda" (or priests from the Diocese of Cabinda) were perceived as powerful and rich because Cabinda was perceived to be the richest part of the country. The word Cabinda in Luanda had the same effectiveness in conjuring up images of wealth and power as the word Angola had in Kinshasa⁵.

During the war of decolonization (1961–1975), Cabinda had also been the military basis from where the MPLA had marched on Luanda and it had become a trope in the MPLA slogan of its triumphant advance: *de Cabinda ao Cunene* (from Cabinda to Cunene) had been the MPLA slogan in the liberation war. It had constructed an MPLA "landscape" that after the war was commemorated in the nationalised narrative of decolonization. The referent of Cabinda was over determined both materially and ideologically, which made it symbolically powerful. It was effective in illuminating so to speak the "authorised" MPLA landscape of the post-war society by creating a sense of distance from what were

⁵ When for instance I crossed the frontier between Angola and DRC on the bridge that crosses the river Luo, my research assistant who was a Congolese from Kinshasa told me that if people heard we came from Angola they would think we had lots of money. Throughout the 1990s, for people in Kinshasa, Angola was thought of as a gateway to Europe, which was seen as a Garden of Eden, like the Western world appeared to East Europeans during Socialism.

not "authorised" reminiscences of the war or perceptions of its social and material remains in the present. The arbitrariness of this delimitation between legitimate and illegitimate representations of the past in the present was felt much more by those who lived in the immediate presence of the material and social remains of the war than by those for whom the war had always been experienced as "remote". The fictive "Diocese of Mavinga" was an oblique representation of an unauthorised past in the present and an oblique commemoration of an unauthorised perspective on war by those who at the ending of the war became "enclosed" in their memory without the possibility of objectifying and transmitting it. They lived in a realm of abjection that was linked to speech through jokes and place names like "Mavinga" that were made fictive by being invested with an authority they did not have.

Mavinga is not the name of a diocese, but of a town in South-Eastern Angola that in the late 1980s had been the theatre of one of the most violent episodes of the war with Soviet and South African military interventions at their peak (George 2005: 192). Also, between 1987 and 1988, in nearby Cuito Cuanavale, took place what has been termed "the second largest military confrontation in African history after El-Alamein in 1942" (p. 213). The ideological consequence of the ending of the war was such that one of the main theatres of the Angolan war ceased to exist in the official representations of the past. This forgetting (or distancing) of South-Eastern Angola was evidence of the role of institutions in producing public memory as a source of legitimacy for the regime in power, making the "unofficial present" dangerous to recall as an equally authoritative representation of the present, not of the past. The gravity of this forgetting was all the more pronounced the "lighter" the register of speech used to recall the memory of that place. Recalling the unofficial past through jokes was also a way of making the transgression implied by that act of remembering more tolerable. By naming me "the Secretary of the Bishop" I was included in that representation of the unofficial past on the side of those who forget because, as an outsider, I was not expected to have the background knowledge my informants had and which was necessary for understanding the "pun". Understanding the "pun" on the other hand made the forgotten aspect of the present into a sense of co-presence.

The use of jokes to speak about the serious moral implications of the ending of the war by military means was not uncommon. There were also jokes for instance about the transformation of military technology into technologies of communication, while the international pathways on which they travelled remained unchanged. By way of an example, during the post-colonial war UNITA would be supplied in armament by the United States and South Africa. But after the ending of the war, the United States and South Africa were said to supply the MPLA with technologies for detecting "thieves". The "detector of thieves" was a caricature of the new technologies of information and communication whose power was perceived to be as destructive as military equipment. The line of division between weapons and non weapons was not that clear in the post-war society, but this ambivalence could only be said by means of jokes that were not mere jokes.

This leads me to state that if the names given by others may form part of a “hidden transcript” in which dominated people seek to criticize the powerful as a condition of practical resistance (Scott 1990: 191–192), and if the main attributes of this transcript are its humorous and carnivalesque aspects (Brinkman 2004: 150), one cannot say that the use of place names at the House of CEAST was limited to humour or to a spirit of carnival. They were rather more like the use of names among the Western Apache which position the person within a landscape of the past at a vantage point that is not the ordinary perspective a community has on its past (Basso 1988). In sum, the explanation that I gave my interlocutors led to a re-naming that was both inclusive and exclusive: it was inclusive for it positioned the anthropologist in the present of the social space of the House of CEAST as an interlocutor, but it positioned the anthropologist as an “outsider” of the memory that defined “insiderhood” for her informants. “Insiderhood” was not about territoriality but about what I have called “semantic atmosphere”, a notion that I will develop further in the next section.

CREATING “SEMANTIC ATMOSPHERE” BY SHARING “MORAL SUBSTANCE” IN THE POST-WAR ANGOLAN SOCIETY

“Mavinga” belonged to a space that was said to be “where the administration of the state had not yet arrived” (*onde a administração do governo ainda não chegou*). More than a place that can be located on a map, “Mavinga” expressed a certain distance from the rationalisation of power by the state administration. This was also distance from Christianity, for “Mavinga” was also in a region with the lowest percentages of Christians and a rather frequent use of “sorcery” (*feitiçaria*). This name did not have a referent as much as it indexed a distance. This distance rendered ambivalent the differentiation between “legitimate” and “illegitimate” actions but it did not mean a moral vacuum. It was a distance that was in fact conceptualised as an ability to create links between words and images that were not supported by the legal or material apparatus of the state. They had not guarantee of validity so to speak. Thus, the “images” a person connected to her words were then understood to be that person’s honour. Instead of being devalued for its lack of reality or poor materiality, in what were considered residual spaces of modernity from the perspective of the state administration, imagination was a “moral substance”. It was this “moral substance” that, brought into words, created a “semantic atmosphere” between people who would share it by sharing in each other’s voices.

For instance, on one occasion, as we were sharing lunch at the House of CEAST, one of my informants, a young priest from a town north of Luanda, reported a conversation he had had on the phone with a young woman and which had upset him. His aunt’s driver had asked him to be the god-father of his children and had given him the number (but apparently not also the name) of a woman who was going to be the godmother. They were supposed to meet, but the encounter could not take place because the difference in their “moral substance”. When my

informant called the would-be-godmother, his interlocutor apparently asked him to identify himself by age, economic activity, and place of origin. These were the criteria of visibility of legitimate citizenship status after the war and therefore they indexed an “urban imagination”. My informant said he has asked her in turn if she had any preferences about the place of origin, to which his interlocutor had apparently responded by giving a list of names of the cities on the Southern coast of Angola. Then, my informant asked her if there were any places she didn’t like, to which she responded by naming the town where my informant lived. He said that at that point he decided to tell her that, unfortunately, he came precisely from that place she said she did not like. His interlocutor had apparently tried to take her words back, saying she had been joking, but my informant did not forgive her, because her stereotypes showed that she ignored the history that would have shown the superior rank of his place of origin in relation to hers.

My informant reclaimed the Bakongo ethnicity and commented that his interlocutor was a “Mbundu from Luanda” whose negative cliché about his place of origin showed that she did not know that in the past, Luanda had been the bank of the Bakongo and that the Mbundu were like their nephews. This language of kinship and ethnicity was not mere mythology, although one cannot describe it as history. What his protest shows is that to understand the feeling of having been offended – his wounded pride – one must drop the concern with the distinction between “truth” and “fiction”. At stake had been the definition of status in terms of a “traditional” capacity to accumulate wealth and prestige as opposed to the accumulation of wealth with the “modern” means. Although my informant’s speech had made his interlocutor imagine him in an urban setting, his sense of “honor” was a principle of reality that was valued more than another’s fantasies. As I said above, in a code of honor the social contract between people requires those involved to create a common ground by speaking “the truth” about their intentions instead of representing reality with the fictions they please. The “truth” that made a person’s honor on the other hand was not a historical truth but the “true” register of imagination of his interlocutors. This codification of a person’s honor as representation of his place of origin in another’s register of imagination was part of the same cultural language of trust that had been used to ask me about my “intentions” so as to determine my place in the context of the House of CEAST.

In the post-war Angolan society, this notion of honor was conceptualized as *jeito* and it was related to negotiating trustworthiness in a complicated topography of power. This conceptualization of trust as the “truthfulness” of another’s speech was part of a “semiotic ideology” about the nature of the link between a person’s imagination and her speech that is a sign of truth (cf. Keane 2007: 4). In theory, it is part of a Catholic priest’s formation to learn to discern “sincere” from “insincere” confession of guilt at having committed a sin, for it is this sincerity that determines whether the priest will forgive the sinner. But my informants also drew a line between their “indigenous” priesthood and a “European priesthood”, which was also a difference made by Catholics in those spaces that were beyond the reach

of state administration, whether rural areas or the margins of cities. One characteristic of “indigenous” Catholic priesthood was that by living among people who were not Christian or whose religious practices were not “proper” Catholicism in the eyes of the hierarchy, was that the clergy acquired some of the “moral substance” of these religious practices. But instead of connoting these practices pejoratively by referring to them by the word *feitiçaria* (sorcery) – which had been in use by the Portuguese Church since the 16th century to refer to practices considered heretic or idolatrous – they used the word *jeito* instead.

Another informant for instance commented on his relationship with a friend who was also a business associate, saying that he was a “man full of *jeito*” who had two wives, one in a town in DRC and another in a town in Angola, and many children in between. But that he was also someone who was “closed” (*fechado*) and who manipulated people in order to make money. For instance, he would buy a truck and re-sell it, but he would also say the truck was in repairs to keep it for his own usage for a while. He was also in charge of driving the truck my informant owned across the national border between Angola and DRC, but his documents of identity were said to be “counterfeited”. His ambivalence came across in his speech when for instance he would ask for money to cover the expenses related to the transport. Instead of giving a full story to justify his request, his narrative came across by bits and pieces (*a bocados*): loss of documents, petrol, problems with the police for the cargo transported, etc. Nevertheless, when this friend died, my informant, a Catholic priest, said that his death had left him without *jeito* too. *Jeito* was therefore a morally ambivalent substance through which people were related across religious, social, and legal divides by the sheer fact of their co-habitation in a space that was like a residual of state administration.

Jeito was a morally ambiguous “substance” or “ability” whereby people established semantic and social connections despite (rather than because) of the social and moral distance produced by the categories of identity of the discourse of the state. It was part of a social construction of reality through a “play of influence” (*jogo de influências*) that rendered ambiguous the “causal” connections between the means people had and the ends they pursued. This in turn made it problematic to interpret “evidence” and ascribe responsibility when projects failed. *Jeito* was in fact a capacity to make decisions *despite* circumstances or lack of means, not because of them. This “negative” relationship to means made the difference between *jeito* and the satisfaction of desires or needs with money. At stake was a different notion of the relationship between means and ends that underpinned a different notion of “ownership”. *Jeito* in a sense was contrapuntal to the security system of the state, such as being physically mobile across national borders with “counterfeit” documents of identity. *Jeito* was therefore a term used to refer to a way of life that was supported by a different ideology of language than the ideology enforced by the state administration. It consisted of replacing the symbols of the law of the state with other symbols. *Jeito* rendered the signs of the state ineffective in setting limits to movement through space for instance. The contrary of *jeito* is to reluctantly accept something that one cannot change (*adturir*).

But this did not mean that people with *jeito* acted in a moral vacuum, guided by an arbitrary fantasy. In the positive sense, *ter jeito* (having jeito) meant that an action, a person, or a word inspired trust. In the negative sense, it meant that an action, a person, or a word was not a project, but an illusion that was not worth following up. “Positive” *jeito* established “true” links, “negative” *jeito* did not. This is why *jeito* was both dangerous and unavoidable, its omnipresence in society meant that it was the basis of trust and a cause of permanent suspicion about others’ true intentions and about one’s own capacity to assume the consequences of one’s decisions to pursue a “project” *despite*, rather than because of the circumstances. To negotiate trust in post-war Luanda could make the difference between life and death. It was this existential dimension of trust – and suspicion – that made the difference between “insiders” and “outsiders” of the post-war society. Between those whose entire existence was determined by the “semantic atmosphere” created by ties established through *jeito* and those who had a more secure existential ground, like citizenship and social status in a developed economy, or a “corporate identity” as employee of multinational organization.

Jeito was therefore a “moral substance” and an affect shared by people who inhabited a “closed” space where life prospects were only possible as an imagination of potential transformation. The only “evidence” for that potential was another’s speech, which is why others’ words were carefully listened to in order to know whether a person had a potential for constructive or destructive ends. Yet, this distinction was hardly significant in spaces that where beyond “modernity”. Simmel (1950: 123–124) has argued that groups that cannot reproduce themselves by taking in new members become a “closed number” and they dissolve with the death of their members, unlike “open” groups that outlive their members (like a nation or a monarchy). A characteristic of the relationship between the members of a closed group and the group is a particular consciousness of finitude that will discharge melancholia. At the same time, anthropologists have also shown that melancholia can also be discharged by the material environment itself, where that material environment is not made of meaningful objects that can be named using existing concepts, but it is made of the abject remains of a violence that can be physical and/or symbolic (Navaro Yashin 2009). In Bosnia-Herzegovina for instance, the presence of military waste, such as bullets and mines, both exploded and unexploded, is part of everyday language and practical knowledge about how to move around “safely”. The fundamental categories that organize people’s world are “with mines” and “without mines”. Wounds inflicted by weapons have produced a semantic landscape or landscape of memory that is transmitted from one generation to the next as knowledge of the locations of traumatic events and which form the background knowledge that define the insiderhood of the landscape of those events (Henig 2012: 21).

In the case of my informants, this symbolic violence was their “closure” by the ending of the war that had brought about their exclusion from the Apostolic Succession in the Catholic hierarchy. The role they had learnt to perform had been

defined and institutionalised in that context. Their impossibility to perform that role and in this way transmit their knowledge of ritual and theology affected their subjecthood by making them aware, suddenly, of a finitude that the imagined “eternity” of the Catholic Church had until then held in abeyance.

But “landscape” constructs a visual register that is not fully successful at capturing the relation between society and space, that which makes a space social. Ardener (1987: 39) for instance wrote that “the social is, in virtue of its categorizing and classifying structures, a space that ‘identifies’. [Individuals] are defined by the space and are nevertheless the defining consciousness of the space”. From this perspective, “remoteness” is a quality of space and social relations. “Remote areas” are not necessarily geographically distant from centres of definitional power and not all peripheries are “remote”. Peripheries that are also remote are those linked to the centres of definitional power by a one-way barrier of invisibility. For example, the Bakweri of Southern Cameroon were defined by colonial officials as “apathetic”, while “the silent villagers saw themselves as involved in a life and death struggle with zombies and their masters, which gave significance to the slightest act” (p. 221–222). Those who define do not actually see those whom they are defining, whereas those who are being defined have the consciousness that the defining procedures of others may “absorb” them. This consciousness of being made invisible makes remote areas “event rich” and “semantically dense” by contrast to the regulated automatisms of definitional spaces (Ardener 1987: 223). My notion of “semantic atmosphere” tries to capture this “semantic density” linked to the consciousness of being made invisible because of the irrelevance of one’s memory within the structures of definitional power. More than the notion of “landscape”, which evokes a view, the notion of “atmosphere” seems to be more apt at capturing the enveloping feeling of this density. So, in this paper, “semantic atmosphere” refers to the “moral substance” people shared as an affective bond to each other and their environment by virtue of having been “enclosed” together in a “remote place”. Under these circumstances, negotiating trust in a code of honor, or respect, meant to decide how far one would listen to another and share in that other person’s imagination.

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SECLUSION FROM PUBLIC SPACE IN PANIC AND ANXIETY DISORDERS. A SYMBOLIC GEOGRAPHY OF ANXIETY

MONICA OANCEA¹

Panic and anxiety disorders are often accompanied by avoidance behaviours. This paper aims to present how cultural norms significantly influence them, and how these so-called deviant behaviours are in fact socially constructed. Discrepant emotions related to particular circumstances, emotions which violate feeling rules and display rules, seem to be the major factors that cause individuals' seclusion from public space and social interactions. Panic and anxiety disorders provide specific sets of emotions and bodily sensations, not themselves pathological, but that often may seem so through the social practices that regulate when and which emotions to be felt. Based on field data I intend to show the way a natural and normal emotion as fear can be read as a deviance, and it can sometimes disrupt individual everyday life.

Key words: feeling rules, mental disorders, seclusion.

INTRODUCTION

Panic and anxiety disorders, with or without secondary associated disorders (depression, agoraphobia) have a significant impact not only on physical and mental health of those affected, but also on all others aspects of individual's life: work, family relationships, and so on. Such disorders are not isolated to specific groups or cultures, on the contrary, mental disorders have a very long history, being important marks of cultural paradigms and socio-political systems varying over time. How mental disorders were read and managed in societies give them the status of cultural variables, directly related with others' constructs as health or normality.

The very contemporary concept of mental health has an important social component. According to World Health Organization:

“Mental health is defined as a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community.” (World Health Organization)

¹ PhD Candidate, Doctoral School of Sociology, National School of Political and Administrative Studies., monicaoancea@yahoo.ro. Beneficiary of the project “Doctoral scholarships for the development of the knowledge-based society”, co-funded by the European Union through the European Social Fund, Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007–2013.

International studies from the past decade argue that anxiety disorders – which, according to DSM-IV, include a wide range of specific disorders, such as panic attacks, agoraphobia, social phobia, specific phobias, posttraumatic stress syndrome, and so on (DSM, 1994: 393) – are among the most common mental disorders. The most recent extensive researches conducted in Europe are the analyses of the European College of Neuropsychopharmacology, which have been developed under the direction of Hans-Ulrich Wittchen, Senior Investigator at ECNP Task Force.

Diagnoses used in these studies were taken from DSM-III, DSM-III-R or DSM-IV, (American Psychiatric Association, 1980, 1987, 1994) and ICD-10 (World Health Organization, 1993).

In 2005, the data collected from 16 European Union countries, from a total of 150 000 subjects between 18 and 65 years old, showed that anxiety disorders are the largest diagnostic group. The study conducted in 2010, also coordinated by H.U. Wittchen, resume previous methodology, by collecting data from 30 European countries. The results approximate that during the 2010 research, over one third of the EU population was affected at some point by a mental disorder. Within the analysis undertaken, the study concludes that the most frequent mental disorders, in terms of estimated number of persons affected, are anxiety disorders. A comparative analysis between data obtained in 2005 and those collected in 2010 would thus indicate an increased incidence of panic disorder and agoraphobia (*ibid.*, pp. 666, 668).

Given this data, a major argument for analysing the social impact and socio-cultural implications (in terms of developing public policies, information campaigns, analysis of social stigma, etc.) of anxiety disorders is found in the cited study's conclusions, which state that:

„Further, there is little awareness of the full range of disorders of the brain and little knowledge about the size and burden associated with these diseases in the community and the society.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 656–657).

These results are consistent with those obtained through research on mental health conducted in Romania. The study was conducted in 2007 in over 60 Romanian villages and cities, by the Research Institute for Quality of Life and led by sociologist Manuela Sofia Stănculescu. It argues that the awareness and the involvement of the civil society (NGOs, social workers, priests, etc.) in the issue of mental disorders is average or below-average. Central and local authorities take into account this matter to a small extent. According to opinions of specialists surveyed, the stigma of people affected by mental illness is reflected in many areas, both in community and family, media, and in the individual's access to quality healthcare (Stănculescu, 2007: 25–26).

With such data, focused on the prevalence and stigmatization of mental disorders, qualitative and in-depth studies within local contexts are required, for a better understanding of those specific cultural factors that affect not only diagnosis,

treatment, public policies and social integration of those with emotional disorders, but the very management of these issues by those affected, by their families, friends, co-workers, etc.

The purpose of this paper is to present, in terms of a cultural perspective, one of the most important changes that often occurs within the everyday life of people with a panic or anxiety disorders: seclusion from public space. Without speaking of an effective physical seclusion, I aim to provide a closer look at those individuals' emotional states that affect everyday routine, their performances as social actors and the manner they deal with unpleasant and intense episodes of somatic reactions due to mental disorders.

In everyday life, emotions are used as self-reflexive tools for knowledge and social networking, physiological experiences of emotions being accompanied by meaning and positive or negative values described by individuals through cognitive processes. Emotional behaviour and the way it is read by individuals as normal or deviant are subordinated to cultural norms, social practices, body management and display, which are learned ever since childhood, through a civilizing process. Thus, individuals not only acquire social knowledge of norms and rules, but they also internalize techniques of controlling and adjusting emotions to contexts and emotional display rules (Kirmayer, 2001; Hochschild, 2003). In a symbolic-interactionist perspective, individuals' self-conceptions are built through and supported by social interactions, being hinged in "social roles" or identities. With everyday social interactions, individuals are working to adjust their emotional behavior and emotion display to these social roles, through emotional labour. These efforts aim to adapt their feelings and emotional states to what is called in anthropology of emotions terms, *feeling rules* and *display rules* (Hochschild, 1979, 2003; Thoits 1985, 1990, 2005; Peterson, 2008; Jderu, 2012).

Feeling rules is a concept first introduced in 1979 by sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild, that refers to norms that distinguish between "what we feel" in a certain situation and "what we should feel". Thus, the feeling rules indicate the range, intensity and the length of certain emotions which are considered appropriate for a given situation. Feeling rules, and also display rules – which address "what I do feel" and "what I appear to feel" – vary according to culture, gender, specific groups (e.g. ethnic groups), social class, public and private life, etc. Hochschild argues that each culture provides us with specific prototypes of feeling rules (Hochschild, 1979, 2003) which regulate normal from deviant behaviours.

In terms of emotional disorders, we also speak of a cultural constructed perspective. What appears to be labelled as disturbed may often be the case of behaviours which violate feeling rules and are thus considered discrepant, abnormal, deviant. In such cases, individuals are in a norm-state discrepancy. When it occurs repeatedly and persistently, a process of labelling and self-labelling of the individual as having an emotional deviance is likely to take place (Thoits, 1985). In other words, he could have a mental disorder.

Psychiatric diagnosis itself is tributary to its cultural system (Pugliesi, 1981; Hochchild, 1983; Thoits, 1985, 1990, 2005; Kleinman, 1987, 1988). Medical anthropology researches showed that the way mental illness is conceptualized varies across cultures. Arthur Kleinman contributed to understanding culture-bound syndromes, a particular combination of psychological and somatic symptoms that are recognizable as a disease within a specific society, as long as cultural values “shape how we perceive and monitor our bodies label and categorize bodily symptoms, interpret complaints in the particular context of our life situation” (Kleinman, 1988: xiii). While somatization exists in the same form in different societies, the socio-psychological and moral dimensions attached to it depend on the specific context:

“The culturally distinctive elements of the clinical presentation of patients with depression and anxiety may reflect culture-specific symptoms or syndromes, cultural idioms of distress, or explanatory models that link bodily distress with social and psychological factors” (Kirmayer, 2001: 25).

OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS USED IN RESEARCH

The empirical data collection and the tools used were based on the concepts of “panic disorder” and “anxiety disorder” as they appear in the International Classification of Diseases – 10th edition (ICD-10, 1990) and the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – 4th edition (DSM-IV, 1994). From the multitude of available sources, I preferred the use of ICD-10 and DSM-IV due to their status as references for studies developed both nationally and internationally (Kirmayer, 2001; Wittchen and Jacobi, 2005; Teodorescu, 2009; Bolohan, 2010; Wittchen *et al.*, 2011). In panic disorder:

“The essential features are recurrent attacks of severe anxiety (panic) which are not restricted to any particular situation or set of circumstances, and which are therefore unpredictable. As in other anxiety disorders, the dominant symptoms vary from person to person, but sudden onset of palpitations, chest pain, choking sensations, dizziness, and feelings of unreality (depersonalization or derealization) are common” (ICD-10, 1990. 139).

“An individual in a panic attack often experiences a crescendo of fear and autonomic symptoms which results in an exit, usually hurried, from wherever he or she may be. If this occurs in a specific situation, such as on a bus or in a crowd, the patient may subsequently avoid that situation. Similarly, frequent and unpredictable panic attacks produce fear of being alone or going into public places. A panic attack is often followed by a persistent fear of having another attack.” (Ibid.)

In generalized anxiety disorder, anxiety is the dominant feature, being “widespread and persistent, but not restricted to, or even strongly predominating in any particular environmental circumstances (i.e. it is “free-floating”)” (ibid., p. 140).

From collected field data, I noted that symptoms most common among respondents, often recurrent on a daily to weekly basis since their debut, are: difficult breathing and choking, palpitations and tachycardia, feeling dizzy, faint and weak, sense of terror in panic attacks and long-lasting extreme anxiousness, and fear of dying. Depending on each individual, these common symptoms may be felt with varying intensity and can be accompanied by others, such as nausea, chest pain, hyperventilation, headache, being unable to concentrate or maintain bodily control when trembling, shaking or feeling petrified, fear of losing control or going crazy, etc.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The data underlying this paper was collected between August 2010 – May 2012 by using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The main qualitative methods consisted in participatory and non-participatory observation, on emergency wards in two hospitals in Bucharest, for a couple of days, and in two private offices – a psychiatric and a psychotherapeutic one, from private clinics, for a longer period of time. I also used qualitative data derived from extensive discussions – as unstructured interviews – held with a clinical psychologist.

According to these disorders’ characteristics – unpredictability of panic attacks, generalized anxiety felt for longer periods of time, sometimes associated agoraphobia and behavioral changes that may occur (especially avoidance behaviours) – I developed a questionnaire focused on data related to main changes that occur in affected people’s daily life. Thus, I built 50 items – ten of them related to socio-demographic data (age, gender, marital status, education level, employment status, etc.) – and 40 items focused on matters relevant to the subject. The pre-test phase focused on the analysis of the five filled-in questionnaires and on issues such as: the identification of formulation errors within the questionnaire, correction of ambiguous terms, estimated time required for filling in, and the degree to which the data obtained would match the data intended to be collected. Respondents were selected from online discussion groups with public access, following their public statements as being affected by at least one of the disorders studied. Questionnaires were filled in voluntarily and anonymously, and respondents were informed about my identity and research purposes.

In preparing this article, I considered data from 35 questionnaires. My selection criteria in choosing them was these respondent’s statement that he or she has been diagnosed by a specialist – thereby excluding self-diagnosis, with at least one of the disorders studied, as main diagnostic. Thus, it excluded the possibility that symptoms may have been caused by other mental disorders (such as specific

phobias) or independent causes (e.g. a medical condition or abuse of substances stimulating the nervous system, ingestion of drugs, etc.).

All respondents were young people: 3 of them were between 15–20 years old, 14 of them between 21–30 years old, 10 of them between 31–40 years old, and the rest of 7 respondents between 41–50 years old. 24 of them were women and 11 men.

Almost all are students (7 persons) or employees (18 of them working full-time job and 5 of them a part-time job), only one forth being unemployed or a housewife. Also, about three quarters were married or in a relationship (26 persons), and about one third has one or two children (12 parents among respondents).

A small number of respondents, three of them, suffered from a chronic disease, the rest of them have no general health problems, as they reported.

SECLUSION FROM PUBLIC SPACE IN PANIC AND ANXIETY DISORDERS

The main results obtained from collected data indicate a number of changes in the daily routine and social behaviour of individuals, which occur once panic or anxiety disorder appear. Thus, we see that respondents reported a progressive decrease in their participation in social activities, on all levels of their personal life: at work, with family, etc. The most dramatic decline appears to be installed in entertainment activities and relationships with friends (meetings, parties, leisure activities with others), as reported by respondents.

Daily life changes dramatically in terms of limiting space. Going outside and being present in public space are reduced. Activities most likely to be avoided are those requiring higher levels of socialization, sustained contact with others, while acquiring supplies and doing errands are activities better kept. Individual routine is therefore focused on sustain the basic needs (food, paying for services, and gaining a monthly income to cover cost of living), while assuming social acts and interactions become secondary. These facts seem to indicate that the installation of anxiety disorders mainly affects – but to varying degrees, depending on person, intensity of somatic reactions, and circumstances – aspects of the social life and relationships of the individual, and thus his social status. Effects are more pronounced when they are accompanied by agoraphobic behaviour, strongly manifested through the avoidance of social situations and public contexts.

The individual, living in fear of a panic attack, or in a prolonged anxiety, is likely to repeatedly avoid crowded places, being in large groups of people, using public transport, and so on. In some cases, he/she can even give up activities that require sustained contact with others, including giving up work:

“For a year I stayed 90% of the time at home. I quit my college in favour of one in my home town. I am a student and I find it very hard to learn, to concentrate, to leave home.” (R.S., female, 26 years old)

“For several years I avoided as much as possible to take part in meetings and events with more people.” (P.A., female, 27 years old)

“Since it appeared I have not really gone out with my friends, but only with my fiancé... no clubs, no fun.” (F.N., female, 23 years old)

“I leave home only when necessary, to go to work and when I have to go on work trips around the country.” (M.P., male, 29 years old)

Specific symptoms, especially those of panic attacks, decrease the degree of self control that the affected person can maintain over his emotional and bodily behaviour. The intensity of somatic reactions can temporarily disable the individual, in the sense of functioning at normal parameters. The feeling of losing control and self-control dramatically affects the individual’s ability to socially expose himself. As suggested by psychiatrist Mircea Lăzărescu, it affects the individual’s agoric dimension:

“to people, space is not only a physical space, nor a space structured by a biological formula. The term “agoraphobia” is an inspired concept. Agora means a human place, a market in which the ancient Greeks gathered to solve various community problems. [...] In the agora, the subject, the individual, must sustain all demands, all issues and responsibilities related to the community. He should not be anonymous and shy, isolated and hidden, but communicating, participating and engaged.” (Lăzărescu, 1989: 147, my translation).

“Agora, that space for social request, that human space for debate, for decision-making and community engagement, may be insufficient or difficult to assimilate, integrate in, and thus it is not assumed by the person. This dimension of the individual – which is his resonance tuning fork for his “agoric” engagement by which he is exposed, to the gaze of the others, bound to listen, to the interests, comments and criticism of everyone else – can be fragile, it may regress. And then, in a general sense, “agora-phobia” lies in the difficulty of the individual’s presence among the community members who discuss community problems, ask you to participate, to engage, at the same time ready to criticize and to challenge you, to blame you. In such situations of more or less dramatic social exposure, the individual may experience a strong and unbearable emotion, up to a anguish crisis. It can then systematize the difficulty of being in “agora space”. And so the subject will have difficulties to leave his home, even to walk on the street or enter the stores, to be in public spaces, at meetings or sessions.” (Ibid., my translation).

Giving up or avoiding activities that require higher levels of performance and interaction with others, thus having a consistent behavior regarding the others' expectations and social norms (even in usual and common contexts – being able to travel in a crowded bus, to wait in a queue at the supermarket, to perform job duties) seems to be influenced by the degree to which these contexts allow deviations from desirable social norms and behaviours. The more rigid the context is, the more likely it is to be avoided. Therefore, the public space and formal situations – more demanding by others' presence and less flexible than the informal ones in terms of deviations from social roles – are, as described by respondents, the most avoided ones. Why is it so?

Respondents frequently suffer of intense and unpleasant emotional states, which significantly obstruct expressive acts and performance and maintaining control. It is these situations which are likely to occur what Erving Goffman called "accidents of communication" – discrepant events that contradict the impression cultivated by the social actor (Goffman, 2007: 78). According to the author, there are three categories of such events. The first category concerns situations in which the performer may accidentally convey incapacity, disrespect or impropriety by momentarily losing muscular control over the body; the performer may accidentally yawn, fall, etc. The second instance is related to situations when the performer may act in such ways that seem too little or too much concerned with the performance; the social actor may seem nervous, may giggle, etc. Finally, there is a third category, of situations in which the performance may suffer from inadequate dramaturgical directions (Goffman, 2007: 78–79). To maintain expressive coherence during performances, the individuals must avoid gestures, expressions, or involuntary reactions that may give an impression that contradicts the one intended (ibid.).

During everyday interactions, anxiety and panic disorders affect the individual's performances in ways that match these accidents of communication. Body control is difficult to maintain when feeling such sensations as described by respondents:

"visual disturbances, sometimes nausea... dizziness, I feel that I don't have enough air to breath." (V.B., female, 15 years old)

"I have chest pains, in my left side, I'm choking. I feel dizziness, fear of fainting, and I see everything blurred. Sometimes I even cannot stand up." (O.M., female, 26 years old)

"Higher heart rate, I can hardly breath! I feel cold sweat and a lump in my belly, and a need for contact with the ground." (A.M., female, 23 years old)

"I'm unable to stand, I'm choking, I'm dizzy, I'm dithering, and my hands are freezing." (C.A., female, 32 years old)

All these bodily sensations, felt intensely, make body management, self-control, and also performance in social roles difficult, as long as the body and its expressive functions are identity marks and ways of interpersonal communication.

Feelings of panic or intense anxiety, when dominant, minimize the individual's control over his body, expressive gestures and emotional state: his/her hands may shake, his/her knees become weak, he or she may feel like fainting imminently, so he/she has an urge to sit, the voice may tremble or the individual may feel even unable to speak, move, react. So his/her own body "betrays" the anxious person, conveying unwanted signals and altering the performance in undesired ways. The individual's formal social role – e.g. as a "pharmacist", "student", "accountant", "estate agent", or informal one – "mother", "daughter", "friend", "wife", etc. are undermined by a new identity: that of an "anxious" person or, as reported, an "abnormal" one. This one is then acknowledged by the individual and felt in a disturbing way through specific emotions of fear, irritability, restlessness, agitation, incapacity to relax or concentrate, which alter the interaction's meaning and disrupt the performance.

Failure to maintain expressive control leads to the occurrence of accidents in communication in social interactions, as presented below. An anxious team manager will accomplish discrepant feelings: attributes of a "manager", showing confidence, professionalism, self-control, leadership skills, and those of an "anxious" person – bodily agitation, nervousness, muscle contractions, low control over bodily and facial expressions and voice. A salesman who has to be friendly, communicative, persuasive and compelling, when experiencing a panic attack will have emotions of fear, a fast heartbeat, choking sensations, dizziness, etc., and therefore is likely to perform his role as a salesman with less credibility. An anxious individual, even when attending a party with his friend, will have a difficult time trying to seem joyful, relaxed or entertained. Therefore, there is a variety of everyday contexts whose common aspect is the gap between social role, both desired and required to be performed, and the capacity of an anxious person to publicly perform it.

But the emotional state, the anxiety itself, is not a priori abnormal or deviant. Fear is a biological reaction or response, a natural emotion with specific functions and therefore not abnormal or pathological. What gives the discrepant meaning is *the relation between* felt emotions and the particular social context, in other words norm-state discrepancy (Thoits, 1990, 2005).

The individual's emotions – fear, anxiety felt in absence of a real object of fear and with an intensity and duration that seem out of proportion to the situation – undermine the performance of the assumed social role and thus seem to contravene others' expectations and violate feelings rules and display rules (Hochschild, 2003; Thoits, 2005). Fear, panic and anxiety are judged by the individuals who feel them and also by the others as abnormal when there seems to be no reason for them to be felt and the particular situation does not justify their occurrence, intensity and duration:

"Initially they didn't understand, they thought that I have been always faking those states, knowing that I didn't have any illness because I have done medical tests." (G.C., female, 21 years old)

“First time they [family] said that I was crazy and I didn’t have anything.” (V.B., female, 15 years old)

“He said to me I had no reasons to feel this way, so why do I ? Let that pass, I’m fine I do not have anything, do not think about it anymore.” (O.M., female, 26 years old)

“I: what were the reactions of relatives to you?

R: First, of support. Then they concluded that I suffered of hypochondria and they became more distant from me.” (S.V., male, 44 years old)

“They told me not to dramatize so ’cause I have nothing.” (B.E., female, 26 years old)

In fact, such attitudes were reported by most respondents included in this study. Their comments indicate that family members and other close persons have considered their problems as medical issues in a smaller extent. Most attitudes reported by respondents deal with these somatic reactions and emotional disturbances as something purely subjective and even imagined, a matter easy to handle by respondents’ will: “don’t think about”, “you have nothing”.

Instead, I observed among respondents an initial tendency to interpret somatic reactions as caused by an organic dysfunction, often requiring care from clinicians other than psychiatrists, to repeatedly make sure that their symptoms are really due to emotional causes.

Important to note is that once a psychiatric diagnosis is received, most respondents chose to manage their emotional problems with medication. Thus, out of 35 respondents, 26 reported that they had taken pills – psychotropic drugs prescribed by psychiatrist, for varying periods from several weeks to several years. Most often, they followed treatment for several months, when somatic symptoms were felt most intensely. However, only 14 respondents out of 35 turned to psychotherapy services often for only a few weeks or month.

There might be two reasons for this. First, in Romania psychotherapy is not reimbursed by the national healthcare insurance system while psychiatric treatments are either partially or, depending on the case, even totally reimbursed. Most of the interviewees have an average income so psychotherapy would be an additional expense. Its costs are higher than those of medication and can destabilize personal monthly budget. So the financial aspects are to consider and often can be an impediment to seeking psychotherapy.

Second, respondents who deal with emotional issues in terms of disease-treatment-healing, often managing disruptive somatic reactions through medication (detrimental to psychotherapy) indicate a reluctance to confess their intimate emotions to others, even to people trained for such matters like psychotherapists. In the collected data, as mentioned above, two thirds were women. This gender difference may be due to cultural norms that more often allow for women to express their emotions and to talk about their feelings, even negative ones, while men are often compelled to appear in control and hide their emotional vulnerability since childhood.

Instead, disturbing emotions are intended to be kept under control through sustained efforts to correct and adjust them to socio-cultural norms, particularly to rules regarding feeling. By these feeling rules, emotions are treated as social and moral problems prescribed by explicit norms of “emotional normality” (Thoits 1990, 2005; Kirchner, 2001; Schoolchild 2003; Peterson 2005.) When self-control fails, avoidance behaviors appear to adjust those circumstances most likely to expose the individual and his emotions to the gaze of the others: by avoiding social contact, crowded places, being outside of home, and so on. The individual’s seclusion is not only from public spaces, relationships or everyday activities, but especially from facing the gaze of the others who evaluate him or her in terms of normative and value judgments, often labeling and stigmatizing deviations from specific cultural norms.

Thus, we consider seclusion of anxious individuals not in terms of pathology but rather in a sense of specific form of emotional work or emotional management in those circumstances when the conflict between felt emotions and those which would to be felt can not be easily adjusted and the individual’s social role and performance is strongly affected.

By avoiding the situations in which the individual may feel exposed, the act of “not-leaving-home” reported by respondents is valued as a mechanism of self-defense. But the home meaning is reconfigured in a dual manner since seclusion is not desired but preferred instead of public exposure of emotional states of vulnerability like fear. Even so, seclusion is seen as an abnormal social behavior, both by individuals affected and others, under the terms outlined above: respondents were young people, almost all in good health. Most of them were students or employees involved in a relationship, some with children. So in these circumstances seclusion was not a matter of free will, a short term personal choice, but felt painfully as a drag, especially when long-lasting.

Becoming a space of protection, the home means at the same time a space of seclusion, an indicator of deviance and of a pathological, disturbed behaviour which is felt and read by the individuals and the others as a social abnormality. In this case, the individual’s presence in the public space, or his “agoric” dimension, necessarily certifies the individual’s social normality which, in the case of panic or anxiety disorders, is much reduced and thus conducive to the labeling and self-labeling as mentally ill, stigmatized.

As protective space or comfort zone, home seclusion has positive value assigned. Its functions are to protect the individual, to provide him/her with safety and control. As a space of abnormality instead, a negative value is assigned through culturally created attributes like inability, illness, weakness and helplessness which indicate an abnormal social behavior. Now, seclusion does not protect but reduces the fulfilment of the individual’s social roles, at the expense of social integration, social capital and self-actualization.

CONCLUSIONS

Anxiety and panic disorders are often associated with avoidance behaviors. Avoiding situations perceived as triggers is not in itself abnormal. Spending more time at home, giving up meetings or traveling long distances are not necessarily pathological acts.

Nonetheless, during my fieldwork I noted that the way individuals who experience seclusion when it is not wanted, but chosen as a way to manage negative and discrepant emotions and the somatic reactions accompanying them, is likely to imprint a deviant, abnormal meaning. This process takes place within the cultural system and its social practices that have prescribed rules for feelings and for their display which, when violated, tend to affect not only everyday interactions, social status, family ties, professional status, but also the individual's self-conception.

Thus, avoidance behaviours are not caused only by fear of having a panic attack, in other words fear by the fear of intense and unpleasant somatic reactions. Seclusion is not only a psychiatric aspect, but also a social one. Individuals avoid, and by this avoidance they try managing, those emotions felt as deviant in terms of cultural norms.

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A TYPOLOGY OF GODKINSHIP PRACTICES IN ROMANIA

MONICA VASILE*

The paper draws a typology of various forms of godparenthood across Romania, punctuated with case studies from different field sites. It shows that spiritual kinship is vivid and diverse in this part of the world, as opposed to its shrinking in Western Europe. Furthermore, godkinship proves to be a useful social and economic tool, through networking, but also a practice surrounded by numerous religious and superstitious beliefs. The types of godparenthood treated in the paper are, as defined by the author: (1) descent group type, (2) dyadic type, (3) bilateral type, (4) vertical alliance type, and (5) multiple godparents type. Based on extensive fieldwork and secondary sources, the argument put forward is descriptive and synthetic in nature and the aim of the paper is mainly to fill a gap in the knowledge of godparenthood practices in Eastern Europe.

Key words: godparenthood, ritual kinship, beliefs, anthropology of Christianity.

INTRODUCTION

For Western Catholic Europe, historians predict the imminent disappearance of godparenthood, based on the fact that statistics from Italy and France show how godparents are currently chosen primarily among blood relatives, especially aunts and uncles, which are soon to appear with the sharp fertility decline (Alfani *et al.*, 2011). Central European countries, such as Hungary, are also shown to have reverted in the last 30 years to choosing godparents among kin (Vidacs 2011). In Romania, godparenthood practices are very vivid. Romanians name godparents for weddings and baptisms in proportions of almost 100%, but they do not prefer blood relatives. Young urbanites prefer to choose among close friends. In some areas, godparents are multiple, going up to 50 pairs of godparents for a single wedding or baptism; in other areas, godparents are inherited in the paternal line; in yet another areas, a few persons concentrate the positions of godparents for entire villages.

The paper attempts to put order to a certain extent in this variation of godparenthood in Romania by drawing a typology based on different practices, beliefs, and motivations of actors. The types treated in the paper are: the descent group type; the dyadic type; the bilateral type; the vertical alliance type; and the

* Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle (Saale), vasile@eth.mpg.de.

multiple godparents type. Based on scattered information, the paper attempts to identify the main characteristics of such types, to point to their geographical spread and also to provide insights from case studies about social and economic uses of godparenthood and clashes between different types.

The data on which the paper is based was collected from various sources and during various fieldwork periods. For two regions, Vrancea and the Apuseni Mountains, the author has carried out extensive fieldwork in the years 2003–2007 and 2009–2010. Shorter fieldwork trips were carried out in the Bucovina region¹ in 2006 and 2011 and in the Oltenia region, in 2010². In addition to fieldwork, the paper draws on data collected during 1970s and 1980s by the Romanian Institute for Ethnography and Folklore Constantin Brăiloiu in various regions of Romania³. The data was complemented with research in internet forums in which a large number of persons discuss in detail the choice of godparents and gifts expected from and owed to godparents⁴.

Unfortunately, there is no quantitative data available to help grasp the actual spread of certain patterns of godparenthood and to support arguments related to changes across generations. Thorough studies of godparenthood in Romania are scarce and the few available ones mostly focus on folkloric aspects, such as ritual acts performed by godparents at weddings or baptisms. As an exception, the anthropologists Gail Kligman, David Kideckel, and Sam Beck dedicate contextualized analysis of godparenthood and its social functions in their monographs of Romanian communities during socialism.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

A brief review of existing anthropological studies of godparenthood indicates several gaps. A temporal gap comes from the fact that after the boom in the '50s and '60s and several important echoes from the '70s and the '80s, the topic of godparenthood faded away, although it contains the germs of kinship, spirituality,

¹ The Vatra Dornei town and the communes of Stulpicani and Dorna Candreni; research was carried out individually and also with the help of teams of students from the University of Bucharest.

² The Commune of Vaideeni; fieldwork trip together with a team of students from the University of Bucharest.

³ Such data remains very limited, unfortunately. The ethnographic surveys on holidays, celebration, and customs (*sărbători și obiceiuri*) of the Ethnography Institute were very rich and extensive, the data on godparenthood, however, is only one short section among the multitude of other topics addressed. Another hindrance is that responses to ethnographic questionnaires tend to stress “the local custom”, which was often very different from what we might call “local practice”. However, the researcher could access information about a number of godparents chosen in different areas for baptisms and marriages, about gifts exchanged on such occasions, and about duties and obligations incurred due to the spiritual relationships.

⁴ The downside of such data is that the main participants in these forums are young female urbanites, thus the data that could be obtained in such a way remains biased towards this category. However, certain tendencies of contemporary urban godparenthood can be traced in this manner.

and ritual – core issues for the discipline of social anthropology. The impression of a spatial gap originates from the concentration of studies of *compadrazgo* on Latin America and the Mediterranean world, as it will become apparent in my further accounts of the existing anthropological literature. For the last 30 years, little has been published on ritual, spiritual, or fictive kinship, of which godparenthood is one form, with a few notable exceptions (Foszto 2009; Killick 2008, 2010; Santos 2008; Schnegg 2007). By contrast, historians of Western Europe devoted a large number of studies to godparenthood in recent years (Alfani 2009; Alfani and Gourdon 2012; Alfani, Castagnetti and Gourdon 2009; Alfani, Gourdon and Vitali 2011; Coster 2002; Fine 1994; Jussen 2000).

Ritual kinship and sponsorship have persisted under changing conditions in many parts of the world. The Christian institution of godparenthood is probably one of the most wide-spread forms of ritual kinship, which traces its origins to the 7th century when “the church created its own brand of spiritual kinship by means of baptismal sponsorship” (Goody 2000: 36) in order to conquer the domestic domain by downplaying biological kinship ties and positing the spiritual affinity as superior to flesh and blood affinity. Departing from the question of origins, several scholars asked the question why this institution was so successful among diverse populations, why it spread as it did. By comparing several communities in Latin America, Sydney Mintz and Eric Wolf in 1950 and Fortes in 1953 put forward the idea of godparenthood as creating solidarity and mutual aid networks. They saw it as a mechanism adopted and adapted by local communities in order to cope with economic insecurities, either forming interclass relations through extension or horizontal relationships through intensification. This underlying basic argument of the social capital kind was taken up by many studies afterwards (Campbell 1964; Goody 1970; Ingham 1970; G. and P. van Den Berghe 1966).

It is often expressed in the literature on godparentage that it creates solidary relationships, which may be put to diverse social uses (Gudeman 1975: 229), connecting people and different groups (Gudeman and Schwartz 1984: 55; Killick 2008: 328). It is also said that it reinforces and emphasizes preexisting ties of friendship or economic relations (Killick 2008: 328). Sometimes, the feature of cross-cutting across ethnic or class differences in creating vertical godparenthood ties is seen in terms of reinforcing differences rather than drawing groups together socially or culturally (Osborn 1968: 605), for example by creating enduring patron-client relationships (G. and P. van Den Berghe 1966: 1239).

A classic theme in the anthropology of godparenthood is discussing symmetry or asymmetry of the social relationship, i.e. the horizontality or verticality of relations (godparents in equal status positions with godchildren or parents versus unequal positions). It has often been implied that the godparenthood relation is in most cases vertical, or asymmetric, the godparent having a higher position (Mintz and Wolf 1950). This is seen as the impact of church notions upon folk practices, namely of the ecclesiastical idea that spiritual is higher than the natural (Gudeman 1975: 235). It has been seen also in a more social light, as

people seeking to connect to other people in a mere instrumental way, as to increase social capital in order to explicitly forge other types of relations, economic or political ones (Mintz and Wolf 1950; Foster, 1961; P. van Den Berghe, 1966).

GODPARENTHOOD IN THE BALKANS

One interesting distinction regarding different models of godparenthood that can be traced also in Romania was drawn by Eugene Hammel for the Balkans. Eugene Hammel (1968: 10) traces two different patterns of godparenthood (*kumstvo*) relationships in the Balkans, despite the staggering variation in practice. The first one, found in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and southern Serbia, is in Hammel's terms the group or the stable *kumstvo*, characterized by unilateral sponsorship relations inherited in the male line, people generally saying that "group A is *kum* [godparent] to group B" (idem: 45). This type of *kumstvo* must be understood in a diffusionist vein and regarded in the general system prevalent in these areas, characterized by group corporacy, importance of patrilineal groups, tendency towards unilaterality and distaste for direct exchange (idem: 35), denying importance of individual decision and dyadic personal arrangements (idem: 37) in favor of agnatic ties.

The other model, the classic Mediterranean model, is the dyadic, individual sponsorship relation, to be found in the Balkans especially on the mountainous Montenegrin littoral. Here, sponsors are selected from a wide range of acquaintances, friends or kin without any customary prescriptions for inheritance. In general, Hammel argues that the group *kumstvo* is characterized by greater elaboration of ritual and supernatural overtones, while the dyadic *kumstvo* is characterized by a practical and frank recognition of favor trading and the exploitation of *kumstvo* for material gain is common (idem: 70). The author explains the difference historically, stressing the stability or instability of the respective areas, suggesting an analogy between political and economic stability and continuation of *kumstvo* relationship over multiple generations. The "stable" areas have been under Ottoman occupation for over 500 years, which brought about economic stagnation and bondage to the land (idem: 53); they have been relatively peaceful and settled and uninvolved in mercantile activity. The unstable areas in eastern Montenegro are characterized by vivid commercialism, greater mobility, and dynamism in general; they were open to the world and participated in early commercial enterprises; the local life was racked by tribal competition and blood feuds (idem: 54).

In many of the Balkan countries, the model described by Hammel was shattered or godparenthood was prohibited altogether because of the politics of the atheist socialist states. Baptism and marriage in church ceased to exist, at least officially. Hristov (2011) reports such processes for Bulgaria, but he also reports a revival of religiosity and spiritual kinship after the fall of socialism, although in a modified form. Godparenthood is no longer a practice submitted to strict customary rules, but to free choice of individuals, who often choose friends or well-off

acquaintances as godparents (*ibidem*). Thus, in postsocialist years, the descent-group *kumstvo* shifted to dyadic *kumstvo* in south-eastern Europe, as documented by Hristov (2011) and Petreska (2011).

In the Balkans, godparenthood was also a means to reinforce solidarity between separate ethnic groups. Hammel (1968), for example, suggests that at times when a newborn in a family died, the descent group of godparents was suspected to have induced a kind of bad luck and had to be changed for the baptism of the next child. The next child was put in the crossroad and the first passer-by was named godparent of the child. Thus, in mixed villages, it was sometimes the case that the passer-by was a Muslim. The Muslim godparent could not participate in the Christian ritual in church, but he was from then on honored as the godparent of the Christian child.

GENERAL LINES OF GODPARENTHOOD IN ROMANIA

The practice of godparenthood is very wide-spread and respected across Romania, mainly because of the continuation of the large majority of people to perform baptisms and marriages in church, unlike other countries in Europe where these practices decline. All across Romania, people largely consider themselves as religious persons. According to Tomka (2011), 99.9% of Romanians declared themselves to adhere to a religious denomination at the census in 2002, 86.8% of which belong to the Orthodox religion.

In Romanian, words describing godparenthood ties are many and various, suggesting a rich development of the ritual kin complex. First, the godfather is named *naş*, with the regional variations *nănaş*, *nunaş*, or *nun* (coming from the Latin *nonnus*), and the godson is named *fin*. Becoming somebody's godparents is called *cununa* and the marriage is called *cununie*, literally "to crown somebody", referring to the ritual crown put on the couple's heads during the religious marriage ceremony.

The more general relations established between the families of the godparents and the couple are named *cumetrie* (not established if the root of the word is the Slavic *kum/kumotra* or the Latin *commater*). The parents and the godparents or brothers of the married couple and the godparents name each other *cumetri*. Because more people are tied in the relation between the families and thus match the denomination of *cumetri*, this word is very commonly used and heard in rural areas. Moreover, in certain areas, the word is used to address persons from the same village, born in the same generation⁵. People frequently use the word *cumetrie* to refer to a wedding feast ("I am going to a *cumetrie*").

⁵ Such an extension is not unique for the Romanian case. This type of extension of the use of spiritual kinship terms to designate relations where there is no spiritual binding is reported also for Mexico (G. and P. van Den Berghe 1966: 1238 and Whiteford 1964, cited in G. and P. van Den Berghe: *ibidem*), here the usage being extended to parents or grandparents of the married couple and even loosely extended to friends.

In the Eastern Christian countries, a person will have godparents named only for two ceremonies, baptism and marriage⁶. Romanian terminology does not differentiate between marriage and baptism godparents. The marriage godparents tend to be regarded as a primary concern and given more thought and importance. The godparents are the ones who help or “sponsor” the child or the couple throughout the rites of passage, as the ones who are already initiated and consecrated as baptized or married persons. They become spiritual parents of the child or the couple, and the kinship tie, once sealed, comprises a set of obligations and prohibitions are to be fulfilled.

The church ritual of baptism as well as that of marriage entails one principal action from the part of the godparents, that of holding the candles during the ceremony, the metaphor of light meaning that the godparents are the ones that enlighten the child’s or the couple’s way, being their guides and moral sponsors. However, godparents do not fulfill only this ethical function of guidance through life. In certain areas, godparents are also thought to have magical powers, being bestowed by God with supernatural qualities (reported also by Hristov 2011 for Bulgaria), similar to those of priests, such as to cast spells or to cure illnesses. Also, the bond of spiritual kinship is thought to be infused with ‘magic’.

In the past, Romanian spiritual kinship was popularly named in some parts of Romania *soul kinship* (*rudenia sufletească*; Simion Florea Marian 2007 [1890]). People believe that some kind of metaphysical substance, which could be thought of as being soul-like, is shared among godparents and godchildren to the degree that there are physical and behavioural resemblances⁷. Another belief is that the sins of one spill over the good luck of the other or can even cause death. Sins appear here in an interesting position, as the child may be actually charged with uncommitted sins by alliance with an improper godparent. It appears in contradiction with the original significance of the baptismal sponsorship, that of cleansing of the original sin and of entering a spiritual order, but it enforces the church prescription for the sponsors to have certain moral qualifications for the position⁸.

Not only is the godparent responsible for his godchild’s spiritual growth, but the reverse is also valid – the fact of having had many godchildren would count as a good deed, helpful in obtaining salvation, thus having godchildren would equate obtaining spiritual points.

The supernatural powers that people believe in are possibly related to the belief that through the holy act of baptizing a person or unifying a couple, God spills grace upon those who contribute to the holy act. This grace, once spilled, has miraculous powers.

⁶ In Catholic countries it has been reported that godparents can also be named at the first communion, the confirmation, or other secularized occasions, like the 15-year “coming out” fiesta for girls, or sometimes graduation from high school (G. and P. van Den Berghe 1966: 1237).

⁷ Apparently, throughout the whole of Europe, we find the idea that the godchild inherits, at least to a degree, the virtues and moral shortcomings of the godparents (Fine 1994: 68 ff.) or beliefs described by du Boulay (1984) for Pelopones.

⁸ Reported also for eighteenth-century Bahia, Brazil, by Gudeman and Schwartz (1984: 39).

Bernea (1934: 231) reports from a village in Orhei (Cornova, Republic of Moldova) how people believed that just by standing close to the child during the baptism in the church, they would have their sins washed away, probably because grace, understood as a kind of a substance, would be “sprayed” onto them as well.

Godparents have to bestow expensive gifts on their children on the occasion of baptism or wedding⁹ and at ulterior moments in life, unless the bond becomes very weak. Because of the obligation of high-priced gifts, couples tend to choose well-off godparents, and godparents have reasons to refuse entering into godparenthood ties by invoking a financial handicap. The married couple gives another type of gift to the godparents, a home decoration or household object, usually of a lesser value¹⁰.

Research in internet forums, which shows tendencies of young urbanites, mainly women, shows a “search for the right way”. People on these forums ask others what would be the best practice or what would be the “custom” concerning how much money or which objects to offer as a gift when being a godparent, or whom to get as godparents when getting married. Most of the answers advise the choosing of good friends of roughly the same age and warn against a business-oriented search for godparents among richer relatives or acquaintances.

These uncertainties or necessity for sharing experiences point to the fact that there are a multitude of possibilities, that actually “customs” vary. Recurrent debate arises from discussing the money involved in such gifting practices. Young urbanites express a discomfort with appearing greedy or asking for money, when they are in the position of godchildren and discuss the gifts they have received from godparents, or are disquieted by being too stingy as godparents. They angrily deploy general tendencies of the “society out there” to turn weddings into a business, from which they want to distinguish themselves. They deploy the rhetoric of the godparents as a moral guide and true friend, as opposed to an instrument to access money, jobs, or other material or social advantages.

Anthropologists working in socialist Romania during the 1970s and 1980s noticed the pervasiveness of godparenthood in rural areas and reported on the social uses of spiritual kinship and its transformations. Beck (1979) reports that at the frontier between the Bârsa Land (*Țara Bârsei*) and Olt Land (*Țara Oltului*), in the village of Poiana Mărului, mostly well-off villagers were chosen as godparents, and he sees godparenthood as a double-edged process. On the one hand, it equalizes status by transferring capital from wealthy to less wealthy through the gifts implied by such a relationship. The same argument is made for the village of Hîrseni, in Olt Land, by Kideckel (1993). On the other hand, at the symbolic level,

⁹ In 2011, the custom is for the godparents is to give from 500 to 1000 euro at weddings and up to 500 euro at baptisms; for weddings, godparents buy either the candles and flowers or the bride’s cake (the value of this contribution being approximately 300 euro, depending on the general level) and pay the church fee (100 euro); at baptisms, they buy clothes and golden earrings if it is a baby-girl.

¹⁰ In certain cases, it is the parents that make a gift to the godparents; usually the gift for the godparents is given after the wedding, in certain rural areas in the form of farm products (e.g. a calf or a sheep, cheese).

godparenthood conserves status by emphasizing the asymmetrical patron-client relationship. Kligman (1988: 36) shows how, in Ieud (Maramureș), in the past wealthy godparents used to be chosen, resulting in only three or four persons serving as godparents for the entire village. At the time of Kligman's fieldwork, the villagers reverted to choosing two pairs of godparents as a means to maximize economic and social benefits. However, status differences persisted, although not that openly, the mayor and the president of the agricultural cooperative (CAP) were asked very frequently to be godparents (1988: 38), yet the concentration of godfather positions in the hands of only few people was lessened.

Kideckel (1993: 170–73) reports a change in godparenthood practices in the late years of socialism (when peasants became peasant workers, 1973–1976), accounting for more instrumentality in such relations, because of increased mobility, social differentiation, and hardships.

I have attempted to draw a picture of recurrent ideas and practices of godparenthood in Romania and a short overview of the anthropological literature that dealt with it. However, relations and customs vary greatly among regions, rural and urban settings, and social statuses. This is why I will give a more nuanced picture in the next section, mapping differences across Romania's regions.

A TYPOLOGY OF GODPARENTHOOD RELATIONS

I develop in this section a typology of five different situations of godparenthood across Romania. The typology can be conceived in the shape of a continuum on the basis of which these cases might be understood; at one end of the continuum we have the case with only one pair of godparents, which is a good premise for tight relations between the godparents and their godchildren where one can expect to find mutual help and various types of ritual exchanges between the people involved. In the case of one pair of godparents one has to distinguish between one pair of godparents acquired through free choice from among acquaintances, friends or family, what was called the dyadic model (Hammel 1968), and the godparents acquired by matter of inheritance from the previous generations, in which the choice is very limited, the so-called group model (Hammel 1968) or descent-group model.

At the other end of the continuum, I put the case where we have the most unusual situation, with up to 20–30 pairs of godparents, or even 50 pairs in one extreme case, involving all the guests present at the wedding feast. In this case, the pool of social relations established is highly enlarged, but the actual bonds become very loose. In the middle of the continuum, we have cases with 2–4 pairs of godparents.

Based on numerical issues, but also types of choice, I present a typology of five models of godparenthood. I do not aspire to have comprised all the possible variations and to have extensive information on all areas of inquiry. For example, one type that I leave out is the so-called “loaned godparenthood” (*nășie împrumutată*), in which the descendants of the godsons become godfathers to the descendants of the godfathers, thus reversing the relationship (reported by Geană

[1982] in Bistrița county), reciprocating the relationship. Hammel (1968) also found this model in some areas of Montenegro and called it reciprocal godparenthood.

Despite these unavoidable shortcomings, I believe that to compare godparenthood in typological terms across Romania might be a useful endeavor in order to move away from perspectives on the topic which are either overly holistic, accounting for a 'Romanian type', as it is often the case with ethnographers who patch together information from all across the country to describe godparenthood in general, or overly particularistic, focusing on only one community. I wish to draw attention to the multiplicity of strategies that people devise to form meaningful relationships. Below I present the rough outlines of the typology I developed and in the next sections I discuss the types in detail.

- (1) *Descent group model*. The couple inherits the godparents of the groom's family from a certain descent-group. This model is similar to what Eugene Hammel described for the Balkans as the group model or stable godparenthood. The godparents cannot be changed in principle, but in fact people change due to personal preferences or financial reasons. The characteristic of this model is however, that it is *de jure* not open to choice; it is highly customarily regulated and related to a fairly high number of beliefs. It occurs mostly in southern Romania, in the region of Oltenia.
- (2) *Single dyadic model*. This is the model of one pair freely chosen by the couple. In this model it occurs frequently that friends are chosen, or blood relatives.
- (3) *Bilateral model*. In this model, the couple chooses two pairs of godparents, one from the groom's side and the other one from the bride's side. It is very often the case that the couple prefers one of the two godparents and will be closer to them. It is frequent model in Transylvania and Banat (Western Romania).
- (4) *Vertical alliances*. In this model, wealthy people tend to concentrate godparenthood positions. It is actually a variation of the single dyadic model or the bilateral model, only that it adds the characteristic of sharp status difference between godchildren and godparents. The couples regard "contracting" godparents, whether it is one pair or two or four pairs, merely as an economically and socially advantageous action. They hope for valuable wedding gifts and ulterior granting of favors. However, the ulterior favors are not a rule, because the relationship tends to fade away after the wedding feast, although a limited amount of duties and debts are still expected to be fulfilled by both parties.
- (5) *Multiple model*. Under the title "multiple" one can find four, five, or up to ten pairs of godparents, as I encountered in the region of Maramureș, and also in certain areas of the Apuseni Mountains and Bacău and Neamț counties; one can also see cases where ten pairs of godparents are not considered to be "enough", people going for twenty or up to forty pairs of godparents, this occurs in the region of Bucovina, towards Bistrița county.

Table 1

Typology of wedding godparenthood models to be found across Romania

(1)Descent group-model	(2)Single dyadic-model	(3) Bilateral model: 2 pairs of godparents	(4)Vertical alliances	(5)Multiple model 5–40 pairs
Descendants of patrilineal group A are godparents to descendants of patrilineal group B	One pair is godparents to a couple, chosen freely among friends, acquaintances or relatives	Two pairs are godparents, one from the groom's side, one from the bride's side, chosen freely	One pair or two pairs of godparents. Godparents are chosen freely from among people with higher status; a few godparents concentrate a large number of godchildren, up to 40–50 couples	Many godparents are chosen, the higher number shows the higher status of the newlywed couple
Oltenia and Wallachia; moderately spread	All across the country, urban areas preponderantly; very wide-spread	Preponderantly Transylvania and Banat; very wide-spread	All across the country; not very wide-spread	Maramures, Bucovina, areas in Moldova (Neamț and Bacău) and Transylvania; not very wide-spread
Limited choice	Extended choice	Extended choice	Relatively limited choice	Extended choice
Strong bonds	Strong bonds	Potentially strong bonds	Weak bonds	Weak bonds
Long-run gift exchange	Long-run gift exchange	Potentially long-run gift exchange	One-time gift exchange, ulterior sporadic exchange of favors and work help	One-time gift exchange

DESCENT GROUP GODPARENTHOOD

This type is very much present among south-eastern Slavs and it was researched in detail by Eugene Hammel, as I have already conveyed above. Although a Christian practice, the church did not prescribe necessarily that godparenthood relationships should be inherited from generation to generation. Thus, the particular form of inheritance in the paternal line was a grassroots development, not imposed from above, and, as Eugene Hammel suggested, was related to the presence of the Ottoman Empire.

As I have mentioned before, this type of godparenthood, which presupposes that the position of godfather and godson in relation to another descent group is inherited in the paternal line, is apparently very rigid. According to custom, people

cannot change the inherited godfather, even if he or his descendants were sick or poor, they have to perform their role and fulfill their obligation as part of a descent group. The godson might ask the male or female heirs of the old godfather to be godparents. However, it frequently happens that the “old” godfather grants the permission or “forgiveness” (*iertăciune*) for his supposed godson to take somebody else. This happens either because the godson has a preference for a friend or for a person with higher status or because the godfather’s family is short of money and cannot offer a high gift. If the godfather is changed without his permission, the godson’s family fears terrible curses from the part of the rightful godfather to be cast upon them for the next seven generations. Stories collected in the village of Vaideeni (*Oltenia de sub Munte*)¹¹ report cases where people have died or suffered severe illnesses as a consequence of such curses.

As a consequence of out migration, the inheritance lines are frequently broken in the villages. The heirs of old godfathers either left the country or do not maintain any bonds to people in the villages. However, people in villages frequently seek to maintain the “tradition” of inheritance.

I encountered one case in which a villager, Ioan, (from Desa village, Dolj county) inquired for several weeks to find his “due” godparents, from the lineage of the godfather of his grandfather. After finding out that almost all the heirs of the old godfather had either immigrated to the United States or died, he found a grandson of the godfather that he never met and that was born and lives in Bucharest. He made a phone call to ask whether the grandson, Bogdan, would like to become his godfather. Bogdan was surprised and in the beginning did not understand how a stranger could ask him to become his godfather. Much less did he like in the beginning the idea to spend money on a stranger and to participate in a wedding ritual in a remote village that could embarrass him. Bogdan’s friends and family actually were laughing at him when hearing this funny story: “*If you accept and go there to be a godfather at this wedding, maybe they will ask you to dance with a hen or with a goat, or maybe you will have to sleep with the bride.*” Ioan explained that in Desa, the village of Bogdan’s matrilineal ancestors, this is “tradition”. The rightful godfather should be inherited or at least asked the permission to be replaced. So he justified that he did all this inquiry in order not be blamed for trespassing “custom” in front of God and that he would be honored if Bogdan accepted. Hearing this plea couched in terms of “ancestry”, “tradition”, and “honor”, Bogdan finally accepted and did not regret his decision afterwards. This is a story of a clash between two models. The first, that of Ioan, in which the godparents are inherited and the second, that of Bogdan and his circle of friends, in which one pair of godparents are chosen from among kin, friends, or close acquaintances. I wanted to underline through this case the strength of obligation to respect the inheritance tradition in the descent group model. The obligation was felt by Ioan to such an extent that he decided to invest a lot of work into searching for all remote descendants of the old godfather, even though he could have had an excuse to just choose anybody else, given that apparently all descendants were gone. Ioan put himself in the awkward position to call a stranger and make him familiar with an alien “tradition”, which required time and money in order to be pursued.

¹¹ Data was collected by the author in Vaideeni and her collaborator, Irina Opincaru, during two weeks of comparative fieldwork in 2009, together with a team of students from the University of Bucharest; analysis draws on 40 interviews.

In this area, godparents and godchildren are supposed to follow a precise calendar of ritual visits and to give presents to each other. As part of the honor they owe to the godfather, godchildren are supposed to give a gift in kind (*plocon*), i.e. a calf, a sheep, or poultry; ceremonial bread, braided in a certain way; and wine. All these ulterior duties that have to be fulfilled by godchildren and the due respect and help are also partly adhered to because of the fear of potential maledictions.

Interesting to observe about this godparenthood type is the permanent tension it entails. Apparently, there are strong ideologies, customs, or traditions, as they are locally named, which prescribe the descent group model to be followed. For various reasons, as described above, the realities of social practice lead to these prescriptions often being broken, although people feel uneasy about breaking the rules. Thus, a certain amount of rituals have to be performed in order to smooth over the transgression of rules, such as asking for forgiveness or the blessing of the old godfather.

SINGLE DYADIC MODEL

The single dyadic model presupposes choosing one pair of godparents. This model usually accounts for strong bonds between spiritual parents and children, following most of the standard descriptions given above for mutual visits and gift exchanges.

Spatial mobility determines the concrete physical distancing of people, so that sometimes respecting all the visiting events marked in the popular calendar is no longer possible. However, in most cases, when there is only one pair of godparents, the social bond remains strong, meaning that the customary “duties” at the wedding and afterwards are performed. This model accounting for strong bonds and obligation of respect and reciprocal help accounts very often for formations of “cliques” of businessmen and politicians, that become a net of relatives, bound to work with each other and to help each other, thus enabling corruption. Such practices are by no means new. They were reported by historians to have occurred frequently among noblemen (boyar) families in the 17th century already (Vintilă-Ghițulescu 2009).

These practices embody what was called “godparenthood economy” (*economie de cumetrie*) or “godparenthood capitalism” (*capitalism de cumetrie*). I will analyze below one case of formation of such a web of godparents at the level of timber related business in the Vrancea region.

I draw on a case from the village of Nereju¹² that reveals connections between spiritual kinship and corrupt practices¹³. This case comes from a community that is totally dependent upon the forest resource. As a consequence of privatization and liberalization of the market, the village shelters the activity of more than one hundred timber-exploitation companies of various sizes. The owners of these companies control access

¹² During 2005-2007, I conducted extended fieldwork in the area. Data on this type of hidden issues is not always easy to obtain, thus, in some respects it might be said that my information relies very much on what the “others” say about certain relations and exchanges.

¹³ In the respective village, the majority of people consider that actions of state officials, who are businessmen at the same time, could be called corruption.

to the resource that is formally owned by the community¹⁴, in the form of village *obște*, and are often state officials, mayors, foresters, etc. The powerful businessmen maintain access to the forest and paralyze opposition attempts (sometimes violently), by being enmeshed in patron-client networks, both downwards, comprising fellow villagers, and upwards, comprising forestry bureaucrats, judges, and important politicians. Very often, people in the community use the word *mafia*, *clan*, or *clique* for describing what is happening in their village concerning timber. Somebody used suggestively the term “godparenthood capitalism” for expressing his anger over the underground ties that contribute to the depletion of the village’s woodland.

The two most important actors in the village are the mayor and the president of *obște*. The mayor is at the same time the most powerful local businessman, thus he detains institutional and economical power, plus political capital¹⁵, being the direct political client of the most powerful politician of Vrancea, the so-called Wallet Baron. Moreover, he has social ties through an alliance with another important character, the president (they are parents-in-law), and is the godfather to other subordinate local businessmen. Thus, it might be implied that in this case the mayor is enforcing existing economical ties through godparenthood, securing loyalty among his clients. In the business sphere, the mayor gives security and protection against controls, because their economic activity is largely illegal, with the help of his upward network, while his client offers money (contribution for the political party), loyalty, and access to his downward network. As for the social sphere, they exchange visits and gifts. The president of *obște* is the godson of the former director of the county level forestry district. In addition, the jurist of the *obște* is the godson of the Wallet Baron. Thus, the local level of forestry institutions is related to county level politics and forestry.

Due to the cohesiveness of such groups, formed out of multiple types of ties, they resemble for the outer world (i.e. the community) a pure kin group, a clan, as it is often expressed by locals: “*they are all kin*”, “*we are ruled by a veritable clan*”. I could say that the rationale for these godparenthood choices might be security and need of support. This case shows how spiritual kinship is highly valued, how other types of relationships gain more weight by adding godparenthood. In the economic sphere of this particular village, almost every practice is bound in illegal chains; hence, incertitude and anxiety play an important role in people’s lives, which call for relationships based on mutual trust. Godparenthood brings loyalty and trust to relationships, merely to the economic ones, in the realm of corruption and illegality.

For spiritual kinship, trust is one feature that is mentioned in the literature as a core issue. Godparenthood can be “an effective mechanism for extending the network of trust” (Magnarella and Turkdogan, 1973: 1631); it “establishes ‘safe’ links between households” by eliminating “the mistrust normally encountered between them” (Gudeman, 1972: 59, 60), and its function is to channel trust among individuals (Pitt-Rivers, 1968: 41). Godparenthood functions at its “best” regarding trust and bondage in this model. In this form, it resembles most blood kinship ties, as I have tried to show through the offered examples.

¹⁴ In the form of a community-based institution, named *obște*, ruled by an executive board, in which all residents of the village have an equal right to withdraw wood and to vote for management and executive committee elections (Vasile, Mantescu 2009; Vasile 2007). The forest of the village of Nereju spans over 4500 hectares, but business comprises also the neighboring satellite villages, with another approximately 4000 hectares.

¹⁵ He was elected for the second mandate in 2006 with a percentage of 85%; he was 41 years old at the time.

BILATERAL MODEL

In this case there are two pairs of godparents, usually found in the regions of Transylvania and Banat¹⁶. One pair is from the groom's side, named the Grand Godparents, the other pair from the bride's side, named the Little Godparents. Normally, they both fulfill the same roles in the church ritual and equal respect and attention has to be shown to them. The bilateral model can also work for four pairs of godparents, two on the side of the groom and two on the side of the bride (this custom is frequent in the Baia Mare area). However, it is frequently the case that the couple is more attached to one of the two or four pairs.

Newlyweds are frequently in favor of the bilateral model, instead of the single pair model, because this way they avoid conflicts between the two sides of the family and they can collect more gifts at the wedding. This model is also sometimes preferred because one can include more "best" friends. Because of the ulterior preference that is given to one of them, the newlyweds do not feel the burden of having to fulfill obligations for two pairs of godparents after the wedding. In many cases when the groom comes from a part of the country where the custom is with two pairs of godparents and the bride from a region with one pair, or vice-versa, there are concerns from the side of the family that is used to only one. In such cases, the newlyweds very often choose the bilateral model, being persuaded by the idea of inclusion and larger gifts. The concerns refer to how to divide the tasks during the wedding, such as who puts the rings on the fingers, who holds the crowns, and also how equal attention is given to both pairs. However, it can also happen that if the newlyweds decide for two pairs, and one pair of the godparents is not used to the bilateral model, these godparents might be offended, to the point that they might refuse. Because the position of godparents is a privileged one, which gives status to the person, people are apparently not happy to share this privilege and they feel in competition.

VERTICAL ALLIANCES

The vertical alliances type can be seen as a variation of the single-dyadic model or the bilateral model. It occurs within these types, when the chosen godparents have a marked status difference from the godchildren. In some places, people will have godparents named with the explicit purpose to enrich their social capital and to enable them to draw on networks formed in such a way. The case of "godparenthood capitalism" from the Vrancea region that I presented above was a case in which businessmen and politicians were forming a "clique", united by more or less the same interests and being in relatively equal positions. They supplemented already existing relationships, to build up trust.

¹⁶ Central, western, north-western, and south-western parts of Romania.

In the vertical alliances model, rich individuals become godparents of a very large number of less well-off people. This model illustrates very well a large part of the existing literature on godparenthood, which regards it as a merely instrumental relationship, based essentially on asymmetry.

Anthropologists writing on Romanian communities during socialism reported the tendency to choose better-off godparents. As I already discussed above, Kligman (1988) reports a softening of the vertical alliances model in the late years of socialism and shows how economic advantage was sought by transforming the vertical alliance model into the bilateral model. Sam Beck (1979) reports that the vertical alliance model was especially powerful in the interwar period, when godparenthood was a means for the village shop owners to secure clientele for their shops, freshly established in that period, the *crâșma*, the bar, and the *prăvălie*, the shop. Not only economic competition was at stake at that time, but also a demographic shortage of men. A significant number of men died during the war, which determined a concentration of godparenthood in the hands of those who remained in place in the villages. Kideckel reports that, in presocialist years, better-off godparents had five to seven godchildren in the Olt Land (1993: 44). However, in the late years of socialism this model was flattened as villagers were seeking fellow workers employed in socialist enterprises as godparents.

I documented in-depth the case of vertical alliances developed in the Apuseni Mountains, which continue up until this day in very marked ways, and discovered that this is a deeply embedded model, at least 100 years old. In this area, known for having been very poor in the past, people were trying to secure a few loyal people among the better-off, to be able to turn to them for a loan of money or food. Even if livelihoods in the area have nowadays much improved with the boom of the timber industry in 1990, the custom of vertical alliances is still in place. Godparents are and were chosen in the village from among the richest men, the wealthiest landowners, the shopkeepers, the foresters, the former forestry brigade chiefs, the rich traders, and the politicians.

For example, in the village of Apuseni Mountains, where I have done fieldwork during 2008–2009¹⁷, a famous politician in the area is godparent to approximately 50 couples due to weddings and to approximately 80 children due to baptisms. During socialism, his father was the master of the village, as a shopkeeper he controlled every foodstuff that went in and out of the village. The shopkeeper had been godfather of 52 couples and many children.

In this area, to be a marriage or a baptism godparent is a privilege concentrated in the hands of only a few community members. A survey of the village households¹⁸ showed me that 15% of the families (approximately 17 families) serve as godparents

¹⁷ I have done approximately nine months of fieldwork in the Upper Arieș area, and a large part of my research interest focused on godparenthood strategies.

¹⁸ In the village where I concentrated my fieldwork, I surveyed 45 households out of 124, on the specific topic of godparenthood, and collected data about godparenthood alliances covering all the households.

for the majority of the villagers. The better-off can have up to 50 couples as marriage godchildren. The “middle-range” godparents can have up to 12 pairs of godchildren. Although it is very desirable to have at least one baptism godchild, 30% of the villagers never became godparents in their lives.

Looking at this data, at first glimpse it seems that the individualistic and harsh mountain traders adapted the institution of godparenthood to their mercantile character, driven by the need to secure powerful alliances and access to supplies. “Clients need powerful patrons and patrons need clients” seems to be the axiom that they apply themselves to their past and present godparenthood practices. However, spiritual beliefs are also at stake. To be a godfather is believed to wash away sins, in the way that I described earlier in the paper. Thus, by accepting to enter into godparenthood relations, the well-off people also try to redeem sins, not only to gain clients. Such godparenthood relations, although they are thought to help people in various ways, apparently do not provide the intended results.

I present an example of a young forest guard, who married a girl from the same village. His four marriage godfathers are the vice mayor, the ex chief of the local forestry district, a policeman in the area, and a forest guard from another institution, from the forestry district. He had the intention to anchor himself in the forestry web, but, as he said, godparenthood did not provide him with helpful connections. It is only the vice mayor that helped him on a few occasions, but because “*he is generally a good person and helpful to everybody*”, thus independently from the godparent relation. Hence, the social ties seem to be weak. Although in people’s expectations we might find the idea of a certain social bond, the actual performance of it does not prove any strength, or any real anchorage through godparenthood.

There is no gift exchange happening afterwards, in contrast to what we have seen in the case of the descent-group model, the couple has no obligations (neither at the wedding, nor afterwards), only the godparents offer a monetary gift. Gift giving at the occasion of the marriage, from the side of the godparents, does not reach the value common in other Romanian regions. Essentially, there is an interesting discrepancy between what is loudly announced at the wedding as a monetary gift from the side of the godparents (600–800 euro for one pair) and the amount that is in reality given to the godchildren (usually half, approximately 250–400 euro). Thus, godparenthood apparently carries weak social and spiritual significance as a relationship beyond the moment of the wedding or baptism. The keyword of this case might be prestige. The godfather gains prestige by showing off in a prominent position at an important social event. The godson also gains prestige by appearing in alliance with an important person. Although the persons involved expect reciprocal help, such help does not necessarily occur.

MULTIPLE MODEL

Historians report that at certain times, people expanded their godparenthood ties. Prior to the council of Trent (held by the Roman Catholic Church between

1545–1563), evidence suggests for Western Europe that many communities practiced baptisms with a large number of godparents involved, either only godfathers or mixed (Alfani 2009). After the council of Trent, the church severely prohibited multiple godparents. Guido Alfani also defers from the documents a certain amount of resistance to such limitations, “a state of profound dismay” (Alfani 2009: 118), and he identifies a decision of the church to “mutilate sociability” and a turn from the community to the individual (*ibidem*).

However, less restrictive Christian churches allowed for large numbers of godparents, for example in southeastern Mexico, where “at marriage there are often several sets of *primeros padrinos* and in addition, from four to six *madrinas* perform distinct functions during the church wedding” (G. and P. van Den Berghe, 1966: 1237).

As social consequences of the extension, in Spain, where marriage prohibitions were strongly controlled by the church, the custom of multiple godparents seriously depleted the number of possible marriage partners (Poska 1998). In Mexico, the extension was purchased at the price of a loss of intensity, sometimes it occurs that “people even forget that a ritual tie exists or let it lapse through disuse” (van der Berghe: 1240).

In the Romanian case, generally the church does not impose its rules over folk customs; there are rare cases where the priests refuse to perform marriages with more than one pair of godparents, but these are quite exceptional. Priests sometimes even joke in the church when there are 20 or 30 godparents for a baptism or a wedding and say: “*Please look carefully who your godparents are, not to forget; because you are not able to marry them or their children or relatives, until the third generation*”. They imply ironically, but not without substance, that people sometimes do not even remember who their godparents are.

In several regions of Romania, we find the custom to have many pairs of godparents at the wedding and up to fifty godparents at a baptism¹⁹. In the Maramureș area, certain areas of Bacău, Neamț, and Alba (mainly in the town of Abrud), people can have up to ten pairs of godparents, also in Bukovina, a compact area of communities where people practice multiple godparenthood. In the area ranging from the town of Gura Humorului up to the border with Ukraine at Izvoarele Sucevei and westwards, going past the mountains into Transylvania, Bistrița Bârgăului, and also southwards into Mureș, the locality of Răstolița, and Harghita county, and the Bilbor village, the custom is to have up to 20 pairs of godparents, sometimes reaching 30 or 40 pairs or, as in Stulpicani locality, 70 pairs for one wedding, accounting for all the guests present at the wedding feast.

¹⁹ For documenting the cases with extended godparenthood, I studied the answers to the questionnaires applied for the Ethnographic Atlas, collected by the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore “Constantin Brăiloiu” and published in a number of volumes entitled “*Sărbători și obiceiuri*” (2002–2004).

The question is: why do people adopt such a drastic expansion of godparenthood ties? Hampered by lack of data and studies, we can only put forward hypotheses. Several answers to questionnaires indicate that multiple godparenthood started in the 1930s as a way to increase monetary gifts at weddings. Many informants from 1970s studies suggest that *“before we had one pair, but more recently, we have this increased number, because people are interested in money”*. Statistics do not show drastic demographic changes around the 1930s, thus explanations are more likely to be found in the political economy. The interwar period was a period of economic boom and modernization until the economic crash in 1929. Thus, it might well be that modernization and the flourishing economy brought about effervescence and the necessity to develop one’s network in order to prosper in business. The mountainous population in the respective area of Bucovina was very entrepreneurial, and the timber business was flourishing. The explanation might also be the reverse, that the economic crash made many people lose their fortunes and try to make up for their shortages with an increased number of contributors to weddings.

Of course, one can also contest the validity of the answers that posit a change during the 1930s and say that people have always had the tendency to attribute mercantile interests to people among whom one lives and, in contrast, to idealize the past, as a time of “tradition” and respect for church prescriptions. Thus, it might be that the practice of multiple godparenthood is much older than 1930.

A good suggestion of explanation is made by Ion Drăgușanul in a newspaper article (Monitorul de Suceava, 18 February 2011). He goes back to the 15th to 18th centuries when the respective area in Bucovina where we can find multiple godparenthood was organized as a confederation of free villages, free of serfdom (Ocolul Câmpulungului Moldovenesc)²⁰. People in this area, in order to retain rights over land, were obliged to sell property only to close relatives to keep intruders from taking over large portions of land and forests and eventually drag the others into serfdom. Thus, whoever wanted to sell had to do so for derisory prices, because there was no real competition with only one or two relatives willing to buy. Godparenthood was a practice that enabled people to acquire relatives, and this kind of kinship was recognized by official authorities. As a consequence, Drăgușanul argues that people engaged in multiple spiritual kinship relationships in order to enlarge the pool of relatives and to be able to sell land and houses for competitive prices. I find this explanation at least very interesting.

The logic behind the practice of naming multiple godparents at weddings and baptisms is to acquire a large pool of relatives and also large monetary gifts at the wedding. It is even said that the godparents “make the wedding”, in the sense that they pay for it. People who adhere nowadays to this model often declare outright

²⁰ In the context of general serfdom across the Moldavian region and neighboring Transylvania and Wallachia, to have such an enclave of free peasantry was a very big issue and such rights to freedom had to be fiercely defended.

that having so many godparents is all for the money. They receive large monetary gifts at weddings and baptisms, which pay for the feast and create a surplus for the newlyweds. I heard the expression “*the godparents make the wedding*”, in the sense that they pay for it and if it were not for them to pay larger sums of money, the wedding would not have been possible.

A way to manipulate the sums of money received is to rank godparents. As a general rule, some godparents are called the first godparents, the second, etc. down to the fifth. The rest are usually not ranked so as not to belittle them. Thus, if somebody is called in as the first godparents, they prepare a larger sum of money to give as a gift. In the Vatra Dornei area, I heard an interesting story of deception with ranking, meant to exert larger sums of money from as many godparents as possible.

Five pairs of godparents were called in as the first godparents, instead of only one, and they found out only during the wedding that actually they were not the first. Yet, because they had prepared in a certain way and had taken out the money on the table, they were compelled to give what they prepared, although they felt deceived. As godparenthood relationships are meant to fade away in this model, the newlyweds did not feel ashamed, nor did they fear repercussions for such deceit.

Because of the large number, sometimes people do not even remember who is a godparent of whom and usually there is no social or spiritual bond to the godparents, except for their ritual functions during baptism or marriage. I found a case in which the clash with other models is visible, as people being used to other models behave differently and have different expectations.

Dana, a middle-aged urbanite in Vatra Dornei, coming from Botoșani area, where she knew the model of single dyadic godparents, has only one pair of godparents for her wedding and for her baptism. She has a very close relationship with her wedding godparents; she visits them in Bucharest (9 hours away by train) several times a year. However, having lived in Vatra Dornei for more than ten years, she became a godmother many times in the multiple model, which she describes as having nothing to do with “real” godparenthood, only that “*God may wash away some sins as it is good to be a godparent*”. She remembers the dilemmas that she had in the beginning, when she spent a lot of money on gifts for Easter and Christmas for her godchildren and surprisingly found out that she was not supposed to give these gifts or to visit her godchildren. For the first baby-girl that she baptized together with three other godparents, she bought a pair of golden earrings as a gift for Christmas. The first sign of a weak relationship was when the parents of the baby-girl did not invite her to visit them; she had to be the one to insist on the visit, although she did not feel welcomed. At the time she went to the house of her godchild, nobody was home; only after she called, was she able to get the parents to come home after one hour of waiting. She gave the earrings with a bitter taste and has not visited them since. They only greet when they meet occasionally in the street.

This expanded practice of godparenthood suggests that the godparents are not considered as kin in this region and that godparenthood fulfils purely a ritual function, emptied of its long-lasting social and spiritual charge. Hence, while the pool of parents is largely expanded, the spiritual and the social ties are very weak, as other studies also reveal (G. and P. van Den Berghe, 1966: 1240; Foster, 1961: 1189).

CONCLUSIONS

It could not be determined whether practices of godparenthood are generally diminishing, expanding, or intensifying under changing socio-economic conditions in Romania. Nevertheless, it can be determined that they are vivid and diverse, in comparison to Western Europe at least, where authors show their decline. As people move around the country, they carry with them different models of godparenthood, accounting for choice and sometimes clashes.

Some models, such as the inherited godparenthood of southern Romania, are more bound to "tradition"; they are more rigid in the sense that they limit choice, at least in theory; but they also prove to be more effective in terms of bondage and support offered between the spiritual kin. Although we have no specific data to support the claim, we suspect that the cases in which people from areas with the descent-group model actually change the old godfather or his descendants for a person of their free choice are numerous. However, such changes occur under strict ritual regulations, after fulfilling certain steps of forgiveness and blessing.

Other models, like multiple godparenthood from the Bucovina and Maramureş areas, are mostly free and loose. Everybody can become a godparent and this is effective in the sense that the newlyweds receive a larger gift at their weddings or many people can wash away sins at once. But on the long run, the relationship vanishes and long-life support will not occur. In this model, the godparents might better be called sponsors than kin. In this case, the Romanian church proves to be very much in favor of popular practices and agrees to celebrate a religious service that is basically against the religious dogma.

The paper has shown also how these models can evolve from one other and how certain turning points determine the expansion or the verticalization of godparenthood relations or, to the contrary, the reduction in status difference. In Romania, such turning points have been the interwar period, the installation of the communist regime, the modernization that occurred in the late years of communism in the 1970s and 1980s, and then the end of the socialist regime.

The interwar period, with its increasing commercialization of rural areas determined a marked interest from the business owners to gain clients; thus, they seek clients by engaging in godparenthood, as Beck (1979) conveys for southern Transylvania. Thus, a marked status difference occurred between the godparents and their client-godchildren. Another change that could have occurred in the interwar period, but that we have no substantial evidence for, is the multiplication that occurred in the areas of Bucovina and Maramures. Because of the intensification of business and the increased need for connections and cash, people could have decided to extend their godparenthood connections, at the expense of the intensity of such relations.

The advent of communism reshuffled statuses in rural communities and reconfigured godparenthood on a more equalitarian basis. However, in time, some statuses gained importance and recognition, such as shopkeepers, the cooperative president, or mayors. They were given priority to become godparents to children and couples, as discussed by Kligman (1988). In the late years of socialism, apparently people also became better off and weddings increased in lavishness, in certain areas, money gifts given at such occasions increased their value. It follows that godparents also need to keep up with this trend, thus the short-term interest becomes at times prevalent. However, as it was shown by Kideckel (1993), because of industrialization and increased mobility, people might decide to seek equals, fellow workers, as godparents and to return gradually to the more “traditional” model with vertical alliances.

However, these interpretations are bound to the kind of explanation offered by authors who directly related the practice of godparenthood to economic changes. We do not have much data on changes that occurred within church regulations or influences on beliefs, for example.

For the period after the fall of socialism, my research could illuminate certain trends for several regions, as depicted throughout the paper. Whether it is the short-term economic interest, such as the wedding gifts in the multiple model or the long-term expectations of economic cooperation, as in the single-dyadic model as revealed from the Vrancea region, or unilateral support and channeling favors as in the vertical alliances case, practices related to godparenthood proved to be put to economic uses all the time. However, the paper also shows that supernatural beliefs are at stake and that the spiritual is intimately interwoven with the material. Not only economic interest is at play, but also the belief in washing away sins, and the importance of doing good deeds, stemming merely from a religious morality.

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Tsevi Dodounou, *Le Mythe de l'albinos dans les récits subsahariens francophone*, Münster, LIT VERLAG, 2011, 328 pp., €34.90, ISBN 978-3-643-11219-4

Reviewed by Mihaela Culea,
"Fr. I. Rainer" Institute of Anthropology, Bucharest

The book proposes to address the albino people myth in francophone Sub-Saharan literature and captures, through some texts, different aspects of personality and identity of this fascinating character. The author emphasizes the social status of albinos vis-à-vis the other members of the community. The relevant texts the author explores in the book are: *Wirriyamu* (1976), *Mémoire d'une peau* (1988) by Guiné Williams Sassine, *Les écailles du ciel* by Tierno Monénembo, *La vengeance de l'albinos* (1996) by Flore Hazoumé, *Rapt à Bamako* (1999) by Alpha Mande Diarra and Marie-Florence Ehret, *Nègre blanc* (2002) by Didier Destremau and *L'enfant de la lune* (2005) by Elian Kodjo. In the introduction the author also highlights the methodology of his research and surfs the literature dedicated to the albinos.

One of the issues this study addresses is the membership of the albino people myth to a certain category of myths, an issue more difficult to deal with as the original myth structure got lost in time in the process of passing from one generation to another. The first chapter, called *Albino people generalities*, presents an overview of Sub-Saharan populations' perceptions on albino people. These cultural representations are described considering the mythological, historical and sociological factors. The author argues that the fact that many societies see the occurrence of an albino in a family as the incarnation of an invisible force which can be evil – in which case the members of that family are isolated – or, on the contrary, a force that can be useful to the society in which it appeared. The family is treated in this case with respect. Albino people are the object of contradictory evaluations, positive, as well as negative. Besides, the author brings into the reader's attention the medical evaluation of albinos. He seeks to give an answer to a thorny question occurring in each African family when an albino baby is born: "why my child has a white skin?" and "why do I have an albino child as long as there were no such cases in our family?"

The second chapter, *The albino people myth*, proposes to abort the genesis of the myth and searches to define the category in which the myths of albino people can be included. In literary text, the resonance of the myth is very obvious and appears in the whole narrative structure: it informs about the meanings and significations. The author shows the fact that at the origin of all the representations about the albino people is, doubtless, the mystery of such a figure. The popular imagination considers the albino people as being abnormal beings; the imagination is not capable of understanding how a white child can descend from black parents. Throughout the whole chapter we observe how a multitude of beliefs about albinos provoke positive images as well as negative images and vary from one society to another.

The structure of the myth, the rhetorical relations with internal and external dynamic, but also the transition from popular approach to literary approach of the albino character, represent the three aspects that the next chapter called *Myth metamorphosis* discusses. Starting from the idea that the myths about albinos generate different interpretations, the author tries to capture the structure of the original myth and that of the following versions. In this chapter he also discusses the internal and external dynamics of the myth and the passage from social practices to the literature.

The next chapter, *The role of the character in action and speech*, represents an analytical approach. The chapter pinpoints the attitude of community members that ostracize albinos or, in other cases, marginalize them because of the skin color, which makes them look weird, as a being from another world; nevertheless, always their presence is rejected more or less violently. The birth of an albino child is considered to be a disruptive event for the local society. For instance, the myth *Nègre*

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blanc recounts the circumstances in which a small tribe called Tsong expected the birth of a child. Members of the tribe were extremely disappointed when the newly born child was an albino and conspired, together with the father of the child to chase him away. Decided to protect the child against all odds, the mother leaves the tribe with the new baby trying to offer the ritualic initiation any African child must experience.

The fifth chapter, *The sacrifice, violence and suffering of the albino*, shows that, in order to protect his/her own personality an albino fights back. His/her violence is directed towards the society which rejects him/her. The sufferance starts in the first moments of his/her life as usually the child is rejected by one or both parents. Marginalized and aggressed by a society which is not capable to integrate him/her, he/she lives alone.

In the following chapter, called *Identity of the albino and otherness*, the author analyzes the identity of the character, split between an individual and social identity. The chapter focuses on both the self-perception of the albino and on his/her relations with the other members of the society in which he/she lives.

The last chapter titled *The Symbolism of the Myth*, brings into discussion the meanings of the albino within the literature. The analysis shows how the albino character turns his outcast position into an advantage. Analyzing the albino discourse addressed to the society at large the author points the violence or the irony contained in this discourse. The verbal confrontation between albino and the society, represented by a non-albino, is marked by the critique of albino for an inferior society incapable to understand and to accept him/her. He/she sees him/herself as a superior being once he/she is not part of the society.

Because of his physical aspect the albino resents even the hostility of the natural environment. The mere fact that an albino experiences skin and eye problems because of the sun represents another element of exclusion. The tragedy of the Abino is unbearable because of social rules regarding the rejection of the *monstrous* in human societies. The rejection begins within the family and if the child is considered as being born under unfavorable auspices he/she could be sentenced to death. Sometimes, the mother of the child is equally blamed for having an albino baby as she is suspected of incest or of an affair outside the marriage.

Concluding, the book analyses the albino character starting from the interpretations of literary texts. Different aspects of this character are presented, ranging from the way the albino perceives him/herself to the way the society perceives him/her. The drama of this character is depicted as being in a close connection with the social norms and customs that seek to marginalize him/her and try to limit the effect of such occurrence in Sub-Saharan societies.

Chris Hann and Keith Hart, *Economic Anthropology: History, Ethnography, Critique*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2011, 208 pp., € 54 (Hardcover), € 19.20 (Paperback), ISBN 978-0-7456-4483-7

Reviewed by Mihai Popa,
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

This book is an up-to-date history of economic anthropology. Chris Hann and Keith Hart aim here to reinvigorate the intellectual community of economic anthropologists by drawing attention to the forefathers of the field, and to chart the way ahead for historically documented, ethnographically grounded and critically engaged analysis. The two authors present in an easy-to-read style a vast overview of the ideas that have shaped the anthropological thinking about economic life. The text is engaging and the reader is stimulated to think critically about the present world economic condition from an economic anthropological viewpoint.

In the first half of the volume (Chapters 2–5), the authors present in chronological succession the ideas that have come to shape the anthropological analysis of economic life. The authors follow the interaction between the development of modern economic theory, the development of anthropology, and the resultant emergence of economic anthropology. The latter came to be most articulated as a self-conscious discipline during the 1960s, at the time of the so-called “formalist-substantivist debate”. These years have witnessed a separation between those anthropologists who insisted on the importance of social organization and culture in explaining economic life (substantivists) and those who emphasized individuals’ utility maximizing behavior in their empirical analyses of “primitive”, later “non-industrial”, economies (formalists). The distinction between formalist and substantivist approaches, albeit less starkly drawn, can be traced to the present day.

In the second half of the book (Chapters 6–8), Hann and Hart present anthropologists’ engagement with “development”, that post-World War II “commitment of rich countries to help poor countries become richer” (p. 102), and their engagement with the analysis of the workings of socialist and capitalist economic systems. As concerns “development”, anthropologists have acted both as critical analysts of the underlying assumptions of development work and as actors in development bureaucracies. The everyday realities of “actually existing socialism” have been documented in the Soviet block especially by Western anthropologists starting from the 1960s. The anthropologists’ focus on showing how people adapted to socialist transformation (particularly to collectivization and the bureaucratization of everyday life) was correspondingly shifted to the change in property relations, emergence of markets, and new forms of consumption that accompanied the fall of socialist regimes. Anthropologists who have engaged with the analysis of capitalism have recently researched consumption, corporate capitalism, finance, and stock markets. Whereas the anthropological analysis of development has produced powerful concepts that were later exported to other disciplines (such as that of “informal economy”), anthropologists’ engagement with socialism did not result in the formulation of an original theory.

The authors take Marcel Mauss and Karl Polanyi as founding figures in the project of renewing the economic anthropological tradition. Mauss’s and Polanyi’s preoccupation with linking matters of everyday life to issues concerning the world at large corresponds to the type of analysis of present-day economic realities that should be sought, in Hann and Hart’s view, by economic anthropologists: “An unblinking focus on distribution at every level from the global to the local reveals how the social consequences of political economy and the way it is understood by those who make it are all part of one and the same social process. The current crisis renders this insight particularly visible, since it challenges contemporary financial ideas, while its tangible distributive effects are felt and feared throughout the world.” (pp. 167–168) The choice of Mauss and Polanyi can be related back to the history of the field as a call for a renewed interest in the older “substantivist” research agenda. Still, there are important differences in Hann and Hart’s approach. The author of this review was convinced reading the volume that the center of weight of a new anthropological engagement in debates with mainstream economics should lie more on the historically informed critical analysis of world economic processes, inequality and class conflict and less on the critique of “homo economicus”.

The strength of the book lies in the width of the outlook over the ideas that have shaped economic anthropological thinking to this date. Preference is clearly given to works from anthropology, institutional economics, and sociology, but overall the book reviews an impressively diverse range of sources, from Classical philosophy (the discussion of the idea of economy starts with Aristotle) to present-day experimental economics and neuroeconomics. Without being clogged with bibliographical references (more sources are indicated at the end of the book for the readers to follow-up), the book clearly succeeds in covering the most important moments and ideas that have shaped economic anthropology.

While the appeal of the authors is convincing in what concerns the potential contribution that the anthropological analysis of economic life can bring to current debates on world economic problems, this reader was not particularly convinced by the project of instituting economic anthropology as a *discipline* in its own right. As a matter of fact, this book may also be of interest to

'political anthropologists' in the measure in which, as it is shown by Hann and Hart themselves, the discussions about markets and money (topics which figure prominently in the book) always have to relate to issues of state authority and power.

Criticisms notwithstanding, this book stands as a good introduction to the history of ideas in economic anthropology. It provides the reader with the necessary orientation with respect to what has been achieved in the field and shows the possibilities that lie ahead. Given the fact that the book requires prior exposure to some concepts and theories from anthropology and economics, it will probably prove most useful to students at graduate level and to academics.

Gerald W. Creed, *Masquerade and Postsocialism. Ritual and Cultural Dispossession in Bulgaria*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2011, 254 pp., \$24.95 (paperback), \$70 (Cloth), ISBN 978-0-253-22261-9

Reviewed by Stelu Șerban
Institute for Southeast European Studies, Bucharest

The name of Gerald W. Creed relates to the concept of "domesticating revolution", that brilliantly explains the resistance of the Bulgarian rural population to the socialist program of modernization (Creed 1998). Yet, this resistance roots neither in one political opposition to the Socialism, nor in the open action against the regime. Rather, one sort of "rusticism" has guided it. As a matter of fact, Creed circumvents the idea of rustics' identity and culture in one book that he edited one year before the *Domesticating Revolution* (Creed and Ching 1997).

These introductory notices make aware the reader of the *Masquerade and Postsocialism* that this new book is not at all one purely ethnographic account, as the exotic picture of volume's front cover might suggest, but one continuation of the previous Creed's field researches. The purpose of the book is to bring into the limelight the ambivalence of the Bulgarian "rustics" in the postsocialist period. So, while the "domesticating revolution" revolves mainly on the grey lifetime of the Socialist Bulgaria, the ambivalent 'cultural dispossession' of the post 1990 period stands in the *Masquerade...* backstage.

Creed bases his theoretical inquiry on the puzzled field trips he made starting few years before the breakdown of the Socialist regime in Bulgaria. That time he was working at his PhD dissertation about industrialization in Bulgaria, which resulted in *Domesticating Revolution* book, so the observations were less systematic, but not the least insightful. This impressive remembering lays on his coming back in Bulgaria in 1997 to conduct field researches on "kukeri". This wording generally names the various masquerades that take place in some parts of rural Bulgaria with the occasion of New Year feasts (on the Old Orthodox style, i.e. 13th to 14th of January) as also one week before the beginning of the Easter Lent, at the end of February. Creed studied these intermittently in several settlements during the next ten years. As he himself notes the total time he spent thus in Bulgaria was nine months (p.21).

In the *Introduction* chapter (pp. 1–27), Creed begins with delineating his own theoretical perspective in the frame of the rich anthropological literature about postsocialism. He expresses thus at the very beginning his criticism vis-à-vis these studies: "This book argues for the importance of postsocialism as an analytical category by critiquing its continuing and limiting orthodoxies. I look within rituals to which Bulgarians demonstrate commitment to reveal alternative understandings and interpretations of some of the central concerns of postsocialist studies." (p. 8).

An account of the anthropological theories of ritual gives the starting point of the approach. There are invoked names of Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner, Susan Harding, Abner Cohen. These theories are reviewed and the ritual of kukeri put into their analytical frames. Yet, neither the "anti-

structure” potential of this ritual reveals thus, nor its capacity to violate social norms. Instead, Creed emphasizes how “kukeri provide evidence of cultural alternatives even as the rituals themselves change and those alternatives get redefined or disappear” (p.15).

One overview of the historical context, with the outlining of the Ottoman legacy, the details of the field research techniques, and the volume roadmap close the *Introduction*. The end of the *Introduction* is once again provocative, as Creed announces the chapters of his books build up on some venerable topics of postsocialist studies: gender equality, civil society, local autonomy, ethnicity, and modernization. Yet, these themes are critically scrutinized and reworked in the light of the Creed field research on the Bulgaria’s kukeri.

The following five chapters lead the reader into the core of the work. The first chapter, with title *The Mummie Session* (pp. 28–69), describes the kukeri/mummie performance in various places in Bulgaria. The density of observation is extracted from the fieldworks Creed did around Pernik, one mining town few tens of kilometers southwest from Sofia. Here one “national” festival is taken place, its events representing equally one touristic attraction. This kind of festivals are common in another less known places like those around the towns Yambol and Razlog, in Eastern Bulgaria, but Creed describes all of these as distorted. He focuses instead on local variants the people organize themselves and emphasizes their “authenticity”, as this latter is one very criterion the people uses to distinguish the kukeri quality. The revitalization of this ritual in post1990 period is due to the quest of authenticity amongst native people who feel in this time “culturally dispossessed”.

Basically the kukeri group represents one mock wedding with masked, noisy and sometimes harmful persons. Each character plays one role of the wedding feast, including the central pair of “married” as well as the “priest”, the “godparents”, the “musicians”, and the rest of the “attendance”. Although, the roles include women as well as Roma/gypsies, the actors are traditionally male Bulgarians. This is an important strand as recently women as well as Roma individuals manage to play the roles in the kukeri performance. Creed notes this here and retakes it in separate chapters where he is approaching the topics of gender equality and ethnicity.

The kukeri/mummie is essentially related to the image of masculinity, one fact that Creed outlines at the beginning of the second chapter, *Gender and Sexuality* (pp. 70–104). Notwithstanding, the kukeri revitalization does not mean one “gender crisis” in Bulgaria. The scholars as well as militants involved in conveying the culture of “gender equality” in postsocialist countries miss here the point (pp.100–104). In fact, what is the hard core of kukeri ritual purports its weakness too. Creed states thus: “The paradox is resolved by looking at the nexus of globalization, sexuality, and shifting notions of modernity” (pp. 71–72). In following this idea, Creed analyses in separate subchapters the “Socialist and Postsocialist Emasculations” as well as the “Feminist Incursions for Masculine Reinforcement”.

In the third chapter Creed scrutinizes the notions of Civil Society and Democracy (pp. 105–130). Whatever startling and despite the scholars who (dis)qualifies the rituals like kukeri as “pre-modern”, “traditional”, “superstitious”, these rituals self-contain elements of one spontaneous and profuse associative life (Alexis de Tocqueville, cited by Creed). The “modern” civil society bases on mobilization, urbanites, and on a certain model of governmentality. In front of these indeed, the communal associations like kukeri, are meaningless. However, whether the latter fail to *mobilize* the citizens, they are able to *influence* the ordinary people and fuel their opposition against political power. In addition, these have embedded during Socialist time in what scholars named “the second society” that agglutinated the informal solidarities against the official power. Ironically, these forms of “informal society” became after 1990 the target of corruption accusations (p.113). In fact, nowadays, the forms of associative life like kukeri support one style of performing the politics of “anti-politics”, by refusing the entrenchment of the political institutions, even of the local ones, apparently neutral, such as the well known houses of culture (*chitalishti*) (pp. 115–128).

The topic of politics continues in the next chapter called *Autonomy and Community* (pp. 131–161). Although the chapter begins with one contrastive comparison of kukeri in two neighbor villages in southwestern Bulgaria (pp.131–138), the stake of the analysis is theoretical. Creed challenges the classical opposite views about social relations in rural Eastern Europe, atomization vs. full solidarity

(pp.138–148, 160–161). He outlines both positions root in one romantic view on community, that of Fr. Tonnes's *Gemeinschaft*. This outlook links like one red thread most of the approaches of the rural social relations in Eastern Europe, regardless these works belong to the interwar, socialist, or postsocialist times. The rural solidarity comes yet, at least in the cases of Bulgaria's kukeri, from the "reconciliation of autonomy and networks". The local communities rely on mechanisms of coping and annihilating social tensions, including open violence very visible during kukeri performance. The scenes of confrontation of the antagonistic kukeri groups in the centre of the villages, the "meta-ritual" mock wedding that emphasizes the value of whole community despising one family ritual like the real weddings, and the instances to charging the villagers' crimes over the year, are cultural schemes Creed delineate to support his theoretical statements.

The fifth chapter, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (pp. 162–201) is the longest of the book, but somehow the most feasible. Creed starts with the cases of kukeri that include in their groups the Roma/gypsies as actors. Like noted in the first chapter these cases are of recent record, but Creed takes up them as topical because these unveil one "Bulgarian model of ethnic relations". This last phrase is common in the study of ethnicity in Bulgaria as well as in the other areas of Balkans. Creed quotes thus several scholars such as Antonyna Zhelyazova, Robert Hayden, and Maria Todorova (p.168). The "weak nationalism" this model stands, allows the inclusion in the local communities the marginal Roma population. Kukeri is one way to do that as "reflects a community that is ambivalent and conflictive" (p.177).

The generative conditions of this model are outlined: the incomplete absorption of local into the national identities, the core place that the local, common lived history has in forging the rural identities, but also the limits traced. Creed states thus that the Roma/gypsies represent the Other of "Bulgarianess", since despite they are locally considered as "ours", the features of their general image are "black", "dirty", "thieves" etc. In fact, these attributes relatively float. For instance, what does 'black' mean in the globalization world, when the "blackness" of Bulgarian Roma could be compared with the "blackness" of the Afro Americans? Creed put this sort of questions in the book as he put it to his informants too. Another limitation of Bulgarian 'weak nationalism' is mentioned by Creed. That is the absence of the "Turks", either as characters, in spite of some exceptions of very marginal roles, or as actors (p.195). This seriously undermines the accuracy of analysis, as Creed does not develop one full explanation of this fact. He ends the chapter instead by outlining the failure of the Western multicultural model of ethnicity in Bulgaria and Balkans as well.

In the conclusion chapter, *Modernity in the drag* (pp. 202–217), Creed abbreviates the experiences of Bulgarians in coping with the modernizing models of post1990 period that could be identified in the kukeri ritual. These are not resistances Creed warns, but constitute rather one "apt metaphor for the experience of rural postsocialism" (p. 205). Far from being expressions of backwardness and superstition the kukeri incorporates strands of modern life like religious syncretism, tourism, urban mobility.

Gerald Creed's book aims as noted at the very beginning, to outline the importance of postsocialism concept by criticism of its "limitations and orthodoxies". This goal is fully accomplished. The book does not propose another theoretical perspective, albeit the ends of the analysis are most of the times theoretical, but to deconstruct the postsocialism concept. This strive seems to be consciously assumed by the author as he ironically notes at the beginning of the concluding chapter that what he himself did in the book, i.e. to put the kukeri in terms of gender equality, civil society, local autonomy, is nothing more than one "western" approach of modernity.

Someone could contend the redundant and somehow boring statements about the inaccuracy of the western programs and initiatives like these of the IFM or later, of the EU, in one Balkan country like Bulgaria. The facts are much simpler, as their acceptance was not one "rational choice", but *un fait accompli* for these countries. In regard to the book's working out, it could be noted also, the quasi-absence of literature on the Bulgaria modernization, especially in the political field. Although the anthropological literature is abundant and not less useful for the interested scholar, the approach of the concepts that are not quite specific to the discipline of cultural anthropology require one extant, maybe interdisciplinary, bibliography.

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Katy Fox, *Peasants into European Farmers? EU Integration in the Carpathian Mountains of Romania*, Berlin, Wien, LIT Verlag, Series Freiburg Studies in Social Anthropology, 2011, 340 pp., €34.90, ISBN 978-3-643-80107-4

Reviewed by Monica Vasile
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Halle

Romania is one of the two countries that joined the European Union in the latest wave of admission, in 2007. It did so under the condition of committing to fulfil certain obligations that such membership entails, among which implementing the Common Agricultural Policy of the EU. Being one of the European countries with the largest populations relying on agriculture, such a policy affects a high number of livelihoods in rural areas.

This volume aims to examine the implications of the EU project, defined both as a practical and an ideological stance, on personhood and valuations as lived by people that perceive themselves as “peasants”, in contradistinction to farmers or entrepreneurs. However, the questions asked by the author go well beyond the particular context of an Eastern European country, and potentially appeal to anthropologists working in other areas of the world affected by neoliberal projects and enlightenment epistemologies of rational choice and “modern ways”. Some of the questions that the volume raises are “what are the differences between political projects and life projects?” (p. 32), to which extent the political projects exert control over people and to which extent people resist such control (p. 37) and how persons themselves make sense of their lives and their own projects through the lens of such political projects and their conceptual apparatus, which rely on notions of efficiency and productivity, training and information, safety and transparency, among others.

The book is based on more than fifteen months of fieldwork in two villages on the south versant of the Carpathian Mountains and in the capital Bucharest in various agencies subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture.

The methodological apparatus used to answer such questions is sophisticated. The author does not favour the approach of narratives over the approach of practices, rather draws on both in order to sustain a solid argument. Moreover, she does not address exclusively particular individual trajectories, as the focus on personhood might suggest, rather makes clear-cut statements about larger pervasive processes of polarization, devaluation and externalization. In order to speak about devaluation and polarization, she mobilizes already existing literature on postsocialism, drawing on processes of change such as decollectivization, pluralisation, marketization, and globalization. However, her emphasis on value, personhood and hope is an attempt towards transgressing beaten paths of anthropological studies that deploy (only) such processes in detail.

The book is organized into eight chapters, plus a general introduction and conclusions. Given the limited space, I will only highlight a few ideas in each chapter.

After the introductory chapter in which the author unfolds her arguments and her theoretical standpoints, in chapter one we are shown how ideas of modernization and civilization, assumptions about progress and modern rupture shape people’s claims about the present and impose rigid distinctions between ‘pure selves’ and ‘polluting others’.

Chapter two shows the logics of the Common Agricultural Policy, based on normative notions of integration, information, training and welfare, which prove to be limited in relation to producing the intended effects. Integration did not determine ability to participate for all rural inhabitants, excluding the smaller producers. Information was meant to be diffused through institutions that did not have the capacity to do so and moreover, placed the blame of not being aware on the peasants. Training did not take into consideration local ideas of work. And finally, welfare reproduces neoliberal stereotypes of progress, productivity, specialisation and efficiency, which do not have much to do with having a good life and quite to the contrary, such ideas prove to work for increasing polarization.

In the third chapter dealing with the topic of work, Katy Fox provides us with an account of the tensions between boundedness/closure and indeterminacy/possibility in which work is interwoven. Against logics of utilitarian rationality and a progress-inspired linear idea of human life projects, real life seems to unfold much more ambivalent, drift might characterize people's projects and what might keep them going is hope and possibility.

Chapter four examines restructuring the pig sticking practices, restructuring markets and the meat sector. The conclusion here is that such restructuring meant in practice the acceleration of commercialization of large-scale agriculture and breeding, excluding villagers who only produced animals and meat on a small scale. Furthermore, this exclusion led to questioning the logics of the market and to feelings of devaluation of "traditional peasant" identities that are strongly interconnected with animal husbandry.

In the next chapter, the analysis focuses on the policy of direct payments and shows how a bureaucratic institution (the Agency for Payments and Interventions in Agriculture), by creating a cartographic illusion and adopting mechanistic models of personhood, created local tensions and enhanced hierarchies within villages.

Much in the same line of argumentation as in the chapter about animals and meat, in chapter six, local food production is seen by local people as inherent to a peasant way of life. However, this production is not channelled into the market in coherent ways, the processors and the retailers having much more prominence in the commodity chain, accounting for a general process of devaluation.

While taking us to a journey to the sheepfold on the mountain, in the seventh chapter the author discloses conflicts and the "manoeuvres of obfuscation and separation" by which people deal with each other in the intricate chain of producer-market relationships in order to actually maintain good relations and cooperation.

The last chapter introduces a widely debated issue in Romania: the production of home-made alcohol. By contrasting two local actors, a "winner", Traian, who managed to have a certified for distilling plum brandy, and a "looser", Vicu, who did not have such a certificate, the chapter emphasizes the differences between persons "made in socialism" and people "made in capitalism".

The book as a whole takes the readers into various topics and theoretical arguments, while managing to offer extensive ethnographic knowledge on the area. The way in which the author draws in various characters, events, trajectories and narrative snapshots is forceful and leaves the readers with the impression of intimately getting to know the respective "universe of research".

